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CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW

A quarterly review of cultural developments in
the six Muslim republics of the Soviet Union.



Issued by the Central Asian Research Centre in association with
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CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW aims at presenting a coherent and objective picture of cultural developments in the six Muslim Soviet Socialist Republics of Azerbaydzhan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Tadzhikistan, Kirgizia and Kazakhstan. The subjects treated include history, geography, demography, the arts, education, irrigation and communications.

In addition, the *REVIEW* analyses past and current Soviet publications on the countries bordering on or adjacent to these republics, namely, Persia, Afghanistan, the Indian sub-continent, Tibet and Sinkiang.

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Abbreviations

Abbreviations used in the Review when referring to the Soviet Academies of Sciences, and to newspapers and periodicals etc. employed as sources, are as follows :-

AN/SSSR	Akademiya Nauk (Academy of Sciences) of USSR					
AN/Az. SSR	„	„	„	„	„	Azerbaydzhan SSR
AN/Kaz. SSR	„	„	„	„	„	Kazakh SSR
AN/Kirg. SSR	„	„	„	„	„	Kirgiz SSR
AN/Tad. SSR	„	„	„	„	„	Tadzhik SSR
AN/Turk. SSR	„	„	„	„	„	Turkmen SSR
AN/Uzb. SSR	„	„	„	„	„	Uzbek SSR
SAGU	Sredneaziatskiy Gosudarstvennyy Universitet (Central Asian State University)					
BR	Bakinskiy Rabochiy					
I	Izvestiya					
KP	Kazakhstanskaya Pravda					
KT	Kommunist Tadzhikistana					
KZ	Krasnaya Zvezda					
NT	New Times					
P	Pravda					
PV	Pravda Vostoka					
SK	Sovetskaya Kirgiziya					
SU	Soviet Union					
TI	Turkmenskaya Iskra					
VVS	Vedemosti Verkhovnogo Soveta					

CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW

VOL. VIII, NO.1

EDITORIAL

The Borderlands Series of CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW was begun in 1956 with the declared object of affording "some insight into Soviet writing on the limitrophe countries of Soviet Central Asia". At first the series consisted of general reviews of the principal Soviet publications on these countries which have appeared since the Revolution, each country being dealt with in one or sometimes more than one issue. When these preliminary reviews were completed, it was hoped to keep abreast of current writing in all the countries by publishing in each issue detailed analyses of representative books and articles. In addition, in 1958 a News Diary was started which aimed at giving an indication of the course of cultural and economic relations between the Soviet bloc and each of the borderland countries.

Since the series was started Soviet interest in these countries - and in consequence the amount of Soviet writing on them - has greatly increased and this has necessitated some modifications in the planning of the series. These modifications, which are described in detail at the beginning of the Borderlands Section of this issue, are designed to make the best possible use of the available space in order to keep readers informed of the general trend of Soviet writing on the countries in question. Comment and interpretation will as always be kept to a minimum: for example, a considerable part of Soviet historical writing on India and Pakistan consists of denunciations of the British connexion; except in extreme cases, however, no attempt will be made to assess the accuracy of these denunciations.

The fact that CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW is criticized both for giving too much and for giving too little prominence to the Soviet point of view suggests that its claim to objectivity is well founded. We have recently received some interesting comments on the article "Recent Literature in Central Asia" in No.3 of Volume VII of last year. One correspondent felt that by simply citing official criticisms of current literature scant justice had been done to Central Asian writers. Among these there might well be a genius of the calibre of Pasternak whose works were ideologically unacceptable to the authorities, and were therefore condemned largely on technical grounds. The same correspondent took particular exception to the statement in the last paragraph that "there is no ideological crisis in Central Asian literature". He took this statement as implying that since the "thaw", Central Asian writers had composed their ideological differences with the Party. In fact, however, the article merely shows that current literature does not reflect any differences that may exist - a very different matter. What the article sets out to do - and this should perhaps have been brought out more clearly - is to examine the present official attitude to Central Asian literature. This it finds to be that current literature is ideologically passable, but technically unsatisfactory. Assessment of the artistic quality of Central Asian literature would be a different subject and a very difficult one, largely because, as readers of the many other articles on literature which have appeared in the Review will know, Central Asian writers are nowadays confined to themes and media which are not of their own choosing and are foreign to their national literary tradition.

. . .

A different kind of criticism comes from FAR EAST TRADE. This paper writes of CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW: "The asides of the expert almost overwhelm the data, and it is evident that at times the editors have allowed their personal inclinations to impair the 'objectivity' of research." The first part of this statement is simply untrue - a glance at any issue of the Review will show the small proportion of space devoted to editorial comment as compared with that giving quotations from or summaries of the original Soviet material. With regard to the second part it is noteworthy that the writer refrains from quoting any specific examples to support his allegation, and thus seems to be following the technique of levelling a general criticism when the facts do not allow a case to be substantiated. Or perhaps he is unfamiliar with Soviet writing on Central Asia and its borderlands and is unaware how prejudiced and how carefully angled much of it is. For instance, among the large number of references in Soviet historiography to the long-standing British connexion with

these regions, it is hardly possible to find one which is unaccompanied by violent and usually baseless recrimination. Objective research into material of this kind must necessarily include some indication of its bias and of the more serious inaccuracies and omissions which that bias involves.

. . .

We have noticed that Soviet references to CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW always relate to issues at least eighteen months old. This strongly suggests that our Soviet critics are making use of some centrally prepared digest of foreign publications which quotes out of their context passages considered suitable for propaganda purposes. Such digests are, of course, to be found in many countries and they are a steady source of misrepresentation.

In the Editorial to No.2 of Volume VII we drew attention to Kh. Sh. Inoyatov's extraordinary and completely unfounded statement that the Review denies the practical achievements of the Soviet regime in Central Asia. Mr. Inoyatov was no doubt relying on the standard official description of the Review as a reactionary magazine and had probably never seen it himself. In an article entitled "The International Significance of the Victory of Socialism in the Soviet East" in PROBLEMY VOSTOKOV DENIYA No.5 of 1959 we now read something even more curious. We are quite correctly quoted as saying in CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW No.1 of Volume VI that: "The many delegations from Middle Eastern countries who now visit Central Asia have been shown developments which have convinced them not only that the material condition of the people there is much the same as that of the people of the rest of the Soviet Union, but that it is in many cases much better than the conditions prevailing in their own countries; it is in any case far better than they had been led to expect." But the author of the article claims without a vestige of justification that the Editors of CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW "bitterly complain" (gor'ko zhaluyutsya) of this state of affairs. Significantly he omits to quote the immediately following sentence which reads: "Realization that they have been misinformed about material conditions has caused them to ignore, or at any rate heavily discount, the well-substantiated facts about the cultural regimentation and political restrictions to which the peoples of Central Asia are still subjected."

. . .

The Central Asian Research Centre has now established contact with Universities or Academies of Sciences in all the Muslim Union Republics except Turkmenistan. In exchange for our own publications we are receiving a considerable amount of interesting and varied material. We were particularly glad to receive an immediate response to our approach to the Central Scientific Library of the Azerbaydzhan Academy of Sciences in Baku consequent on our decision to extend the scope of CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW to the Azerbaydzhan SSR. The present issue only contains one article relating to this republic, but we hope in future to be able to pay more attention to it now that we are receiving more material. Azerbaydzhan's proximity not only to Turkey and Persia, but also to the republics of Armenia and Georgia make it a study of special interest.

New newspapers in Turkmenistan and Kirgizia

A new newspaper, VYSHKA, is to be published in Krasnovodsk. It will be an organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Turkmenistan and will interpret life in Krasnovodsk, Nebit-Dag and Cheleken.

A newspaper called DEN SOOLUK (Health) is to begin publication in January in the Kirgiz language. It will include articles on longevity, sanitation, hygiene and the use of atomic energy in medicine and biology.

TI. 7.10.59, KP. 12.11.59

School uniforms in Turkmenistan

The new uniforms for schoolchildren in Turkmenistan include one for girls in Turkmen schools which preserves the traditional national form both in cut and finish.

TI. 11.10.59

Television in Tadzhikistan

A new television station at Stalinabad has begun transmissions which have been received in Tashkent and Baku.

KT. 5.11.59

THE PEOPLES OF CENTRAL ASIA : CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

Part Two*

The Soviet Period Since 1945

The Soviet school has from the beginning been the main instrument used by the authorities for the imposition of standard Soviet culture on the peoples of Central Asia, especially in the rural areas. The great expansion of the education system since the last war should therefore have proved an important factor in the realization of the official plan. But, forty-two years after the Revolution, the Soviet school is still suffering from many shortcomings, some of which are the same, and in some instances manifest themselves almost as acutely, as in the early years of its existence, particularly in the country. Thus "polytechnization", introduced as early as 1930 and lately so strongly emphasized(1), is still neglected by many schools, though superficially much has been done to ensure its success. The teaching of languages still leaves much room for improvement. This is obvious in the case of Russian(2); for example, KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA of 4.1.58 complains that in many schools the standard of instruction is extremely low: Kazakh children start learning the language in the first class and six hours a week are devoted to it, making a total of 4,500 hours during the pupil's stay at school. If he learned only 4-5 new words per hour, he should by the end of his schooling have acquired a vocabulary of 18-20,000 words; but in fact when he leaves school, his idea of the language is very vague. This is not surprising since teachers of Russian frequently know little about the subject themselves. The situation is very much the same throughout Central Asia. In Tadzhikistan complaints are made that Russian textbooks for Tadzhik schools are bad and TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA of 8.1.59 demands that textbooks for VUZ should be translated into Turkmen since the majority of middle school graduates entering the Pedagogical Institute in Tashauz are unable to use Russian books. This is the more deplorable since popular slogans describe Russian as "the language of our elder

* Part One: The Tsarist Period and the Soviet Period to 1941, appeared in CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW, Vol.VII, No.4.

brother" and as "the most powerful weapon of progress".(3)

The situation of other foreign languages seems to be just as bad, especially in the country schools. KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA of 7.8.58 says that although the graduates of Stalinabad middle schools can translate and read English fluently, the knowledge of that language which their country cousins possess is so poor that at the VUZ they have to start learning it and other foreign languages, from the beginning. There is a lack of efficient textbooks for the study of languages, for the existing ones are only too frequently a poor imitation of those used by Russian schools and do not cater for the requirements of the Central Asian student. The Tadzhik Ministry of Education regards foreign languages as an unimportant subject.

Native languages are also neglected in many schools and complaints about this appear in the press. An example is provided by PRAVDA VOSTOKA of 31.8.57 which says that at some schools as many as 60 per cent of pupils show unsatisfactory progress in Uzbek. The lessons are dull and badly planned and many teachers read very little. They do not trouble to put into practice the rules of Uzbek orthography which were drawn up in 1955. The result is that forty-four school leavers, who in 1957 entered the philological faculty of the Central Asian University, "made 20-25 spelling mistakes each", presumably in their examination papers. The spelling in the republican newspapers also leaves much to be desired.

Another interesting point, so far as the teaching of languages is concerned, was the introduction of Uzbek into Russian schools in Uzbekistan in 1957.(4)

The Central Asians want to know more about the history of their country, but the Soviet school seems to neglect this subject, Kazakhstan - so far as can be ascertained - being the only exception. KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA of 24.6.58 says, "the fact that the history of our republic and of the Central Asian peoples is not taught in the Tadzhik schools is the result of imitating too closely the curriculum of the Russian school". But the Kazakh Ministry of Education made an effort to satisfy this desire and in the autumn of 1958 the teaching of history was introduced into all the middle schools of the republic. It is difficult to say whether the Kazakhs are likely to be satisfied with this development - the event provided KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA of 19.6.58 with an occasion to philosophize on the usefulness of the study of history: "In order to become the real builder of Communism, youth should be equipped with leading Marxist-Leninist ideology, a knowledge of the history of their nation. . . and of the heroic struggle of their fathers and brothers for the establishment and consolidation of Soviet power and of the ideals of Communist society".

Kazakh children will now learn that "the whole history of the Kazakh people is permeated with the struggle of the toiling masses against foreign invaders and native oppressors - the feudal lords". The teacher's task is also clearly defined: his duty is to "show his students the historical roots of the friendship among the peoples of the Soviet Union and, first and foremost, of the indestructible friendship between the Kazakhs and the great Russian people. . . the great progressive economic, political and cultural importance of the voluntary union of Kazakhstan with Russia. . ."

The Soviet school is expected to wage an incessant war against religion, but this task is frequently neglected. This work should also extend to parents who teach religion to their children. The schools where the propagation of atheism is satisfactory are those which not only enlist the aid of science lessons to destroy the "legend of the divine origin of the universe", but also employ artistic means for the same purpose: they hold "atheist evenings" which start with a suitable lecture given by a teacher or an older pupil, followed by the recitation of poems ridiculing religion and an appropriate play performed by the school dramatic society.

Complaints about the low standard of "aesthetic education" of children are fairly frequent in the press. TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA of 10.6.58 finds the reason for this in the fact that pedagogical institutes do not teach the history of art, and the shortage of qualified teachers results in the phenomenon of geography or mathematics masters teaching art. Such neglect is caused by the "false idea which exists among us that it is impossible to teach the general public the principles of the visual arts since this is the privilege of the 'chosen'". This is an anti-Marxist conception. Marxist-Leninist aesthetics and Soviet art criticism teach that every normal man can be taught to draw". Rather unexpectedly, the paper ascribes the existing rubbish which passes for art, trashy music and bad taste in dress, to the failure to put this teaching into practice, though in fact its practical result seems to reduce art to the level of craft. [This will be illustrated in a later article of this series. -Ed.]

Finally, KOMMUNIST TURKMENISTANA(5) says that the country school so far has failed to civilize its pupils in the following respect: "It is necessary to improve the work of implanting in the pupils essential sanitary and hygienic habits and rules of civilized behaviour. . .". TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA of 17.6.58 adds that many teachers are unfit to give an example to the rural population in this respect.

The most recent educational development in the Soviet Union including Central Asia is the so-called universities of culture, which were first mentioned in the Central Asian press in January 1959.

KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA of 17.7.59 thus describes their purpose: "The universities of culture are called upon to help students to carry out a very important command: to work and live after the Communist fashion. Communism does not only mean plenty in the material sense - it also means a high cultural level of the people and beauty in their mutual relations". As to the more practical side of the enterprise, the "universities" are open to the workers and intelligentsia alike and their task is "to give the toilers a minimum systematic knowledge of the Marxist-Leninist aesthetics, literature, music, theatre, art and in every way to raise the general cultural level of their students".

The "university" of Karaganda started in the Kirov club, but proved so popular that the club, which could accommodate 400 people, became too small, so four other "universities" were opened in the city and between them they have 1,300 students. The best local specialists lecture there and the range of subjects includes ballroom dancing, savoir-vivre and how to dress smartly. A similar establishment in Ust'-Kamenogorsk is the only one in Kazakhstan so far whose work is arranged in faculties of music, art, drama and Soviet literature. These subjects constitute the usual programme of the "universities"; but the one in Chardzhou, which is intended for young people, teaches also the principles of Communism and atheism. These establishments are not limited to the towns and the kolkhozes open their own "universities" and draw their lecturers from among the rural intelligentsia. For example, a full course at the "university" of the Memory of Il'ich kolkhoz in the Gur'yev oblast lasts two years and teaches painting, literature and aesthetics.

Though the "universities" are a recent creation, some of their activities have already incurred official disapproval and a critical article on their "superficial approach" appeared in PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN' KAZAKHSTANA, 1959, No.9 - see CAR, Vol.VII, No.4, p.372.

The press frequently discusses the "culture of the village" while urban culture receives hardly any attention beyond occasional discussion of some of its aspects. The fact seems to be that while the sovietization of culture is considered to have made reasonable progress in the towns, the villages still preserve a large degree of national individuality and thus continue to cause concern to the authorities. Official efforts to impose Soviet culture on Central Asian society are therefore much more evident and instructive in the rural than in the urban areas.

The problem of culture in the village is closely linked with that of books since the countryman does not have the same opportunity of contact with culture as the town-dweller. Here the situation is far from satisfactory. Though the number of new publications per year

increases annually(6), and in spite of official pronouncements that the cultural and economic standards of the kolkhozes keep growing and "the circulation of books in the village is a task of a great political importance"(7), the countryman often cannot buy the book he wants. This is because the book trade in the country is in fact even more neglected than other trades. Various groups of people are responsible for this. TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA of 14.6.58 complains that the republican Ministry of Culture publishes the Turkmen classics in such small numbers that they are not available in shops. KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA of 13.5.59 explains that it is the buyers of the rayon consumers' co-operatives (raypotrebsoyuzy) and managers of bookshops who influence the number of copies of books published, for the management of the two bodies responsible for the book trade in Kazakhstan, the Kazknigtorg and the Kazpotrebsoyuz, order books according to the requirements of the above-mentioned people. Another weak point of this system is that the representatives of the retail trade often order books of which they know nothing, this is particularly apparent in the case of Kazakh books. This branch of the trade is the most inefficient one - though Kazakh books constitute 70-80 per cent of the publications of the Kazakh State Publishing House (Kazgoslitzdat), the Kazknigtorg does not organize their sale properly for it has only 170 Kazakhs among its 1,500 employees. Another defect is that, though the number of bookshops in country districts is increasing, many of them are cold and dark and their roofs leak, so that part of their stock is wasted. This is also true of warehouses where books are kept. The distribution of books is thus made even more inefficient for in such places books lie in huge indiscriminate heaps on the floor. Thus in the warehouse of the Bayan-Aul rayon in the Pavlodar oblast, heaps of books are scattered among mattresses, saucepans and other domestic goods, among which hens are allowed to wander.

The distribution of books is slow and in some cases senseless. Thus in 1958 a well-known rice grower, Zhakhyev, had not yet heard of a book about his achievements which had been published in 1956, for 1,500 copies of it were held up in the oblast consumers' cooperative warehouse. Though all the republican newspapers assure their readers that the Central Asians can now read even the classics of Marxism-Leninism in their native languages, TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA of 13.3.58 denounces the Kul'tmag shop at Tel'mansk because many Turkmens who wished to buy the works of Lenin in their language could only find the twenty-fifth volume there. Nevertheless many bad bookshops carry out their sales plan for they stock their shelves with vodka. There are managers of village shops who resent selling books because it is a "small trade" with which they cannot fulfil their quotas. This seems to suggest that the small demand for books may be the cause of the trouble.

The book trade is, however, expanding. The Kazakh Consumers' Co-operative in 1958 sold eight times more books than in 1940(8), while in a rural region of Turkmenistan, the Takhta-Bazar rayon, books worth 218,000 rubles were sold in 1957, as compared with 87,000 rubles in 1954.(9) At the same time a large selection of books is available in the native languages. Here, according to the press, the crowning achievement is making the classics of Marxism-Leninism accessible to the Central Asians. Apart from these, between 1951 and 1956 Uzbek translations appeared of books in 18 Soviet and 16 non-Soviet languages.(10)

The largest group of people who are blamed for the unsatisfactory cultural standard of the village are the "cultural workers" (kul'tprosvetrabotniki). To this group belong librarians, travelling lecturers, managers of clubs and houses of culture and "agitators" of all descriptions. Though these people are responsible for disseminating Soviet culture in the village, their preparation for this important task is all too often inadequate. For example, TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA of 17.6.58 complains that over 500 of the cultural workers in the republic cannot even boast middle school education, while many of them are uncouth in their ways. There are cases of men dismissed from various establishments for their unsatisfactory attitude to work, who are subsequently employed by "cultural establishments" (kul'tprosvetuchrezhdeniya). In Tadzhikistan the situation is similar: KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA of 1.8.59 adds to the list of shortcomings of these workers their low political standard, a state of affairs which seems all the more unsatisfactory when it is learnt that of the 180 people who have graduated from the republican training school for kul'tprosvetrabotniki during the past two years, many have taken up quite different work.

The scope of "cultural work" is very wide and some aspects of it would not strike the Western reader as being in the realm of culture at all. This can best be grasped from descriptions of failures and achievements. KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA of 18.7.57 warmly praises the Department of Culture of the Bulayevo rayon for the help it gave to the Gigant kolkhoz. When the cultural workers learned that the kolkhoz was one of the last in the rayon in its milk output, they arranged a special conference for the employees. Prominent milkmaids of the neighbouring kolkhozes gave talks there on their successful methods and the proceedings were made more appealing by a touch of humour. Results promptly followed: "The addresses made by the best workers, the sharp and mocking chastushki (kind of popular verse) about workers lagging behind stung the cattle-breeders of the Gigant to the quick. After the conference things improved and [Socialist] competition on the kolkhoz farms became more efficient. In the club and the Red Corners attractive posters are regularly displayed, bearing the portraits of

milkmaids together with descriptions of their professional experiences and announcements of [Socialist] obligations carried out. In a short time the Gigant kolkhoz captured the first place in the oblast for milk production.¹⁰

But, understandably enough, complaints in the press of bad cultural work are far more numerous. The above-mentioned paper denounces one Baranova, the manageress of a kolkhoz club in the Poludino rayon. ¹¹How far she lags behind the requirements of life, one could see from a talk she gave on the square-cluster (kvadratno-gnezdovoy) method of sowing. . . . The kolkhozniks asked her, "Will wheat, oats and millet be sown in our kolkhoz by the square-cluster method?" And the club manageress glibly answered, "Yes, wheat and barley will be sown that way, but millet - I think - not". [The manageress's not very heinous offence seems to have been that she slurred over her reprehensible ignorance about the millet. -Ed.] The paper concludes that abuses committed by cultural workers are the more unbearable at a time when the numbers of educated people keep growing in the country districts. TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA of 14.6.58 provides an example of a bad librarian at the Eighth of March kolkhoz in the Kunya-Urgench rayon, who does not even know how many brigades his kolkhoz has or with which kolkhoz it is engaged in Socialist competition; and he has no personal acquaintance with the local agronomist. Thus his library "lags behind life"¹². There are also complaints of bad libraries which do not organize readers' conferences, lectures and debates. To this category belongs the rayon library at Shaul'der which is not attended by the majority of the local people including the secretary of the rayon Komsomol and the director of the Rayon Department of Culture.⁽¹¹⁾ KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA of 1.8.58 describes a library at Tadzhiabad which in the course of the last two years lent out only 290 books, i.e. one book every three days, and this at a time when the number of rural libraries is steadily growing throughout Central Asia and many of them carry out their duties very well. For instance, SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIA of 10.9.58 speaks with approval of two libraries in the Stalinskoye rayon, because they organized lectures on "Ways of Increasing Milk Production"¹³ and "What is New in the Mechanization of Agriculture"¹⁴.

Another serious problem often neglected by the cultural workers is the organization and direction of kolkhoz dramatic, musical and other societies. The papers complain that these societies could do much to spread culture in the countryside, but many of them become active only at the time of important festivals and anniversaries, and, for example, in Turkmenistan, they do little to enlist the services of young native women. Cultural workers are also blamed for the bad organization of film shows in various rural districts. Films are shown seldom, sometimes the same film more than once. Films break, there is either no sound or it is not coordinated with the picture, which may be

shown upside down if the projector operator happens to be drunk. Nevertheless cinema-going keeps increasing throughout Central Asia. There is also some room for improvement in broadcasting, for although in Uzbekistan, according to PRAVDA VOSTOKA of 7.5.59, some 70 per cent of families have wireless sets, people complain of the generally poor quality of broadcasts, which also fail to publicize new industrial and scientific achievements.(12)

There is evidence that in some cases the rural population is beginning to respond correctly to this constant "cultural" pressure. Thus, KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA of 7.4.59 describes a Dungan kolkhoz at Kara-Kunuz in the Dzhabul oblast, which was once an ugly and neglected village, its obscurantism being symbolized by the mosque standing in the centre. But now the mosque is no more, its place is occupied by a comfortable house of culture, and the appearance of the village is improving. What is more, the kolkhozniks have come to believe that the name of their village, meaning "black beetle" is a striking anachronism, since it was only before the Revolution that the life of the Dungan people was black. So they have asked the authorities to let them change the name "so as to make it reflect the happy life of the Dungan people under the Soviet Government".

The Central Asian press gives the impression, possibly a misleading one, that Turkmenistan is still the most backward republic, as it was before the Revolution. For example, TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA of 17.6.58 says, "sanitary and hygienic habits are slow to take root in the village. The majority of the rural population live in old, unwhitewashed huts with earthen floors. Many kolkhoz men and women do not observe every day requirements of personal hygiene. . . . Some Soviet and Party officials try to justify these deep-rooted habits, harmful and incompatible with the Socialist way of life as they are, by calling them national customs and tradition."* But in some cases Komsomol members carry out satisfactorily tasks neglected by the cultural workers. The same paper of 14.6.58 describes how the Komsomol members of Kalinin kolkhoz in the Kirovsk rayon, are struggling to raise its cultural level: they have levelled the streets of the village, put the pavements to rights, tidied the sports grounds and whitewashed the

* The preoccupation of the authorities with the continued survival of old customs and traditions in Turkmenistan, especially in the rural areas, in spite of all efforts at sovietization, was noticed in the article "The Oil Workers of Nebit-Dag" in CAR, Vol.VII, No.4. That this preoccupation extends also to the written word in the Muslim republics is evident in the article "Soviet Muslim Literature and the Party Line" in this issue.

houses of the kolkhoz workers. Many of them have bought tables, chairs and other domestic goods for their homes. . . . " Komsomol members are busy whitewashing the cottages in other rayons -- this is apparently regarded as cultural work par excellence. Although there are complaints that village shops are badly supplied with furniture (13), "in the homes of Komsomol kolkhozniks more and more furniture, dishes and other necessary objects appear. Thus, for example, in the Kirovsk rayon alone young members of the rural intelligentsia and the Komsomol have bought 500 beds, 600 chairs and stools, 300 tables, 200 book-stands etc." This shows that until recently even the intelligentsia lived without furniture and to some extent still does so.

Notes

- (1) See "Trends in Education in Central Asia", CAR, Vol.VII, No.1.
- (2) See also "The Teaching of Russian in Central Asian Schools", CAR, Vol.V, No.1.
- (3) PV, 12.12.58.
- (4) Ibid., 25. 8.57.
- (5) KT, 1958, No.6, p.6.
- (6) See also "Publishing, Printing and Distribution of Books", CAR, Vol.II, No.2.
- (7) KP, 13. 3.59.
- (8) Ibid., 17. 3.59.
- (9) TI, 14. 6.58.
- (10) PV, 11. 5.58.
- (11) KP, 20. 8.59.
- (12) See also "Broadcast Services", CAR, Vol.II, No.2.
- (13) See also "Consumer Goods in Central Asia", CAR, Vol.VII, No.2, p.148

THE JOURNAL MOLLA NASREDDIN AND ITS
INFLUENCE ON POLITICAL SATIRE
IN REVOLUTIONARY PERSIA, 1905 - 11*

The following study has been compiled from two articles which appeared in KRATKIYE SOOBSHCHENIYA INSTITUTA VOSTOKOVEDENIYA, XXVII, 1958, namely, "50 Let so Dnya Osnovaniya Zhurnala 'Molla Nasreddin'" (The Fiftieth Anniversary of the Foundation of the Journal MOLLA NASREDDIN) by A. Sharif, and "Zhurnal 'Molla Nasreddin' i Persidskaya Politicheskaya Satira Perioda Revolutsii 1905-1911 gg" (The Journal MOLLA NASREDDIN and Persian Political Satire of the Revolutionary Period 1905-11) by V. Klyashtorina. References in the text are to page numbers of the relevant issue of KRAT. SOOB. I.V. It should be borne in mind that before the Revolution there was no administrative division of Russia known as Azerbaydzhan. The territory of the present Azerbaydzhan SSR was mainly occupied by the Baku and Elizavetpol guberniyas and the people were known as Caucasian Tatars or simply as Muslims. Azarbaijan, however, was and is still the name of the northernmost province of Persia.

. . .

According to the writer A. Sharif, in the early years of the present century the atmosphere prevailing in the Azerbaydzhani press was poisonous: "The young Azerbaydzhani bourgeoisie and landowners tried to utilize the printed word in order to strengthen their position. Zealously promoting the reactionary ideas of pan-Islamism and pan-Turanianism, they rallied all the 'Muslim brethren' under the green banner of the Prophet - the banner of Islam. These anti-national ideas which breathed hatred of mankind were intended to calm the increasingly acute class struggle among the Muslims themselves, to confuse the class-consciousness of the workers and peasants and to detach them from the Russian and international working-class movement.

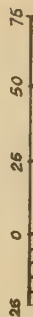
* For details of the Persian Revolution see 'Persia' in CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW, Vol.IV, No.3, pp.289-303, and No.4, pp.398-403.

[illegible]

Union Republic Frontiers.

Autonomous oblast' frontiers

Railways.



J. P. - 1958.

The henchmen of the nationalistic bourgeoisie impressed on the toiling masses that every Azerbaydzhani worker and peasant first of all was a Turk and a Muslim and that he should struggle against non-Turks and non-Muslims, that is, he should forget about class struggle and become completely dependent on the upper classes from whose ranks emerged the 'fathers of the people'.

"They sought to inspire the reader with a servile admiration for the Tsar's 'power from God', but at the same time they extolled the Turkish sultans and Persian shahs. Enemies of independent thought and new ideas, they strove to destroy the influence of the progressive revolutionary ideas on the Azerbaydzhani people." (Pp.23-24)

In spite of the lip-service the press paid to the Tsar, the government resented its pan-Islamic and pan-Turanian propaganda and with a large measure of success sought to convert it into a "weapon for oppressing and enslaving the Azerbaydzhani people"(p.24).

The chief of these papers, the FEYUZAT (Blessing), was financed by a Baku millionaire, G.Z. Tagiyev and it described itself as a "literary, social and political illustrated Muslim daily in the Turkic (tyurkskiy) language". In fact its language was intelligible to hardly anybody in Azerbaydzhan - it was "an artificial speech of Constantinople solicitors and journalists", the champions of pan-Islamism. Its intellectual side was equally bad: "As regards literature and art, the paper in every possible way encouraged and popularized reactionary romantic poetry which diverted the attention of the toilers from the revolutionary aims of the present to the world of abstraction and scholasticism (sic). As for political and social problems, the paper in every way extolled the Turkish pashas and the Persian mojtaheds [higher clergy], propagated idealistic philosophy and lamented the fact that Lev Tolstoy had neglected to study Islam, the 'most perfect' religion." (P.24)

This short-lived newspaper (November 1906 - November 1907) did not differ from the other "bourgeois-clerical" periodicals of the "Baku reactionaries".

The honour of the Azerbaydzhani press was vindicated when on 7th April 1906 MOLLA NASREDDIN started publication at Tbilisi. Its founder and editor was Jalil Mamed Quli Zadeh, a village teacher turned writer. From its very first issue the new magazine attracted general attention for "it sharply criticized the patriarchal-feudal society and its backwardness, ignorance, religious fanaticism and obscurantism; it unmasked the extortionate world with its brutal laws seeking to despoil and oppress the toilers, the violence and arbitrariness of both the tsarist autocracy and eastern despotism in

Persia, Turkey and Bukhara. The journal also mercilessly struggled against international imperialism which had enslaved the peoples of Asia and Africa and deprived them of their right to rule their own home".(P.23) Satire was its most formidable weapon in this campaign - its main features were cartoons, anecdotes, short stories and feuilletons, witty correspondence and humorous advice to the readers, while its simple language made it intelligible to the people.

All this provoked a violent reaction. The "dark forces of the then patriarchal-feudal Azerbaydzhan" united against it with the government censorship. Whole columns and even pages were removed from issues awaiting publication, some issues were confiscated and the editor fined. He and his contributors were cursed in the mosques by the clergy as enemies of Islam. Even newsboys selling the paper were frequently maltreated by the mob inspired by the clergy, while murderers, hired by Baku "capitalists", searched for the men who wrote for MOLLA NASREDDIN. Mamed Quli Zadeh received abusive letters from scoundrels threatening to murder him so that he sought safety far from the centres of Muslim population and he settled in the St.David quarter of Tbilisi, which was inhabited by Christian Georgians, Muslims having no access to it. This proved a wise measure; in his memoirs he wrote: "Once, for example, the kochi(1) who came from Baku to Tbilisi to look for me were unsuccessful. When in the second year of publication one of the issues carried an article on the question of women, my friends urged me to keep away from the streets for the people of Sheytan-bazar(2) had closed their shops and gone to search for me." (P.25) On their part the Persian mojtaaheds officially declared that the murder of the editor of MOLLA NASREDDIN would be forgiven in this world and all sins of the murderer would be remitted.

In the first year of its existence thirty-nine issues of MOLLA NASREDDIN appeared and forty-nine in 1907 (in June the authorities stopped publication for three weeks). The third and fourth years were the most prosperous in the history of the paper whose fame now spread as far as Persia, Turkey, Egypt and India. In 1909 its size increased to twelve pages instead of the usual eight. But in the following year MOLLA NASREDDIN returned to its original size and ten issues less came out; this was caused by the fact that Mamed Quli Zadeh "began to treat his child with less enthusiasm"(p.26) and entrusted the editing to the young and inexperienced Mamed Ali Safarov. The year 1911 was a hard one, for a prominent contributor, the poet Sabir, died and only forty-seven issues were published. In the following year only a few issues appeared and the publication stopped in March, to be resumed only in January 1913. The poet Ali Quli Najafov was now its editor; this was probably due to the fact that Mamed Quli Zadeh was preoccupied with the writing of THE DEAD, a well-known Azerbaydzhani comedy. In 1913 only twenty-nine issues were published, two of which were confiscated,

and from the end of 1914 until 1917 publication ceased altogether. In 1917 Mamed Quli Zadeh managed to publish a few copies; thus ended the first and the most significant period in the history of MOLLA NASREDDIN.

In these years the paper enjoyed the cooperation of some prominent Azerbaydzhani authors. Apart from Mamed Quli Zadeh himself, its most important contributor was Sabir, a lyrical and satirical poet who owed his intimate knowledge of the life of the Persian and Central Asian people to his travels in their countries. The poets Ali Nazmi, Ali Quli Najafov and Mamed Said Urdubadi were his pupils and successors. Another member of this group was a well-known playwright, Abdurrahim Ahverdov.

The Muslim clergy and local businessmen were among the butts of MOLLA NASREDDIN, which sought to make the lower classes of society conscious of the grievances inflicted on them by the privileged groups:

"If you have decided to act - do as Islam allows:

Suffer the evils inflicted by your lord and you will be similar to
an ass!

Sow and mow, and the fat bek will know how to use your bread!

Be ignorant of your rights, sleep and entrust yourself to heaven.

Sleep, do not suffer, do not try to combat evil - accept it!

Are you in trouble, wretch? So what? Get used to it!" (P.28)

This subject does not exhaust the ideas spread by the paper - Sharif insists that MOLLA NASREDDIN also expressed the views of the "toilers of the East enslaved by the western imperialists"(p.29), but he omits to provide quotations to illustrate this point. Nevertheless, in his estimate of the role played by the paper in Tsarist Azerbaydzhan he shows that he is capable of some objectivity: "MOLLA NASREDDIN was not a proletarian paper and its contributors were neither of a proletarian origin nor members of the proletarian party. In view of their historical and social limitations, they did not and, indeed, could not point out the only correct way to save the toiling masses from oppression and exploitation. They did not spread the idea of a socialist revolution. But they often openly expressed in their paper their sympathy with socialist ideals, propagated the principle of a national liberation movement, turned the thoughts of the toiling masses in the revolutionary direction, and their work genuinely helped the revolutionary movement developing under the leadership of the proletariat." (Pp.29-30)

In the second half of the nineteenth century Persian literature became increasingly concerned with the problems of the every-day life of the country. Some Persian writers - Mirza Malkom Khan, Zain ul Abedin

Maragheyi and Abdurrahim Talib - were strongly influenced by the modern democratic and literary ideas of a prominent Azerbaydzhani philosopher and dramatist, Mirza Fathali Akhund (1812-78). Malkom Khan's plays were written with the direct participation and influence of Akhund who wrote to his Persian friend: "The days of GOLISTAN and ZINAT UL MAJALIS are over, now the people do not need such works any more. Now works like the drama and the novel are wanted; they are really useful and satisfy the requirements of the reader." (P.31)

The common literary tendencies became particularly apparent during the Persian Revolution of 1905-11. This was due primarily to the great popularity of MOLLA NASREDDIN in Persia. Persian literature of the period was marked by a considerable output of political poems and publicist prose. These patriotic poems and songs, discussions and feuilletons appeared in the rapidly developing press. One of these periodicals was a Tehran daily, SUR-E-ISRAFIL, which was strongly influenced by MOLLA NASREDDIN. Its satirical section, 'Charand-Parand', ("all sorts of stuff") published a series of feuilletons which reflected the events of 1907-8 in Persia.

The editor of SUR-E-ISRAFIL was Mirza Ali Akbar Khan Dekhoda, a learned philologist and author of political pamphlets, poems, feuilletons and articles, the majority of which appeared in his paper, Jahangir Khan Shirazi being his collaborator. Dekhoda's articles commented upon current events in the country, sharply criticized the "reactionary feudal regime" of the Shah, the arbitrary rule of the landowners and the bigotry of the clergy. At the same time they were full of "love and sympathy for the simple people": the oppression of the peasants, the poverty of the urban proletariat and the ignorance and down-trodden state of the Persian woman were among the most frequent subjects discussed by 'Charand-Parand'. In his earliest articles Dekhoda dealt with minor evils, like the bread speculation in Tehran in the spring of 1907, and attacked the "most violent reactionaries" - the gang of Rahim Khan in Azarbaijan and that of Qavam Shirazi in Shiraz. But gradually the range of his subjects and his daring grew; for example, he pointed out that the new constitution and the majles (Persian parliament) were no practical gain to the country and that the majles members were worthless men; the conclusion was that "all these shahs, khans, courtiers and ministers, generals and landowners - they are nothing else but leeches sucking the blood of the people" (p.33).

This outlook of SUR-E-ISRAFIL made MOLLA NASREDDIN its natural ally. As the latter could not freely criticize the Tsarist government, it transferred its criticism to the governments of Turkey, Persia and the Arab countries and thus by implication condemned the regime at home. Almost every issue of MOLLA NASREDDIN from 1907 onwards carried

articles and satires on Persian problems, particularly on revolutionary events in Persian Azarbaijan. The popularity of MOLLA in Persia, especially in Azarbaijan, was great; the rebels of Tabriz and other towns knew the poems of Sabir by heart; they were turned into songs to which new couplets were added and a large number of imitations of Sabir's work appeared. The authorities considered MOLLA NASREDDIN a bad influence on the people and as early as 1907 Mohammad Ali Mirza, viceroy of Azarbaijan and the heir apparent, forbade the introduction and circulation of the paper. This produced protests strong enough for the majles to cancel the prohibition.

Soon SUR-E-ISRAFIL started to exchange courtesies with MOLLA NASREDDIN; for example, in February 1908 it wrote:

"O, morning breeze, in my name
Greet most warmly
The esteemed MOLLA NASREDDIN of Tbilisi." (P.34)

In turn MOLLA NASREDDIN expressed its approval of the views put forward in SUR-E-ISRAFIL; for example, it published a poem which said that the Persian constitution failed to ease the hard lot of the people and concluded:

"The traitors have many times betrayed our mother-country
And ISRAFIL loudly shouted about it." (P.34)

The two papers not only professed the same ideology, but even employed the same means of artistic expression. For example, in December 1906 Mamed Quli Zadeh published his story "Freedom in Persia", in which he described the naive reaction of an ignorant Persian worker, Karbalay Mamed Ali, to the grant of the constitution by the Shah. Mamed Ali had come to work in Russian Azerbaydzhan where he got himself another wife and his earnings were too meagre for him to send money to his first wife at home. In this situation he welcomed the constitution as a universal remedy. He said: "Today the consul gathered all the Persian subjects at the mosque. There we prayed for the Shah who had granted Persia a constitution. . . Now, please God, there will be enough money. All my countrymen greatly rejoiced and wanted to throw up their caps. They say that tomorrow the consul will gather us all and start to distribute the constitution among us." (P.35) Soon Mamed Ali sent a letter to Persia asking for his share of the constitution to be delivered to him.

A similar method was employed by Dekhoda in one of his feuilletons in SUR-E-ISRAFIL. Its hero, Azadi Khan, an ignorant, simple man, imagines religion as a material treasure, as Mamed Ali regarded the constitution: a molla, entrusted with money for safe keeping,

appropriates it and the people say, "faith [trust - vera] is lost"; a wife and daughter have been stolen from a poor man and again the people say, "faith is lost". This makes Azadi Khan wonder what faith is: in one case it is money and in the other women. But as he has neither of these, he sadly concludes, "I see now that, since I cannot get faith, I will surely go to hell". (Pp.35-36)

Dekhoda borrowed not only ideas but even technical tricks from MOLLA NASREDDIN. The following quotations serve to prove this point and at the same time provide an illustration of the satirical interpretation of current events which was common to both the papers. On the 21 April 1907 Mamed Quli Zadeh published in MOLLA NASREDDIN his feuilleton entitled "An Answer to a correspondent Damdameki (lit. fickle)":

"Damdameki, are you really mad - why did you not fear to write all that to me? Are you bored with your life? What would you say if I were to put your letter on the pages of the journal? Try to understand that the people of Baku would pelt you with stones and stop to buy my paper.

"Do consider whether I could write that owls have put their nests in the public reading rooms of Baku? Could I possibly write that the Baku philanthropic society does not interest anybody and its members are ignorant idlers? And that the streets of Baku are infested by begging Muslims, women and children?

"You just think, Damdameki, if I could write that on 9th April two distinguished Muslim town-councillors pointed their pistols at one another and exchanged dreadful curses. . .

"And can I announce in this journal that on 28 Safar Baku men in Bibi-Eybat [a quarter of Baku] smashed one another's heads so furiously that some of them are still bleeding? What is the matter with you, Damdameki - are you mad or what? Can I describe how in April Baku people put on donkeys the thieves who had come from various places and displayed them in the city, while they set free the local thieves who had been arrested, because they were kinsmen of the town-councillors?

"So consider, Damdameki, whether I could afford to describe in my journal all that which you want me to report. It is interesting how you would have to justify yourself if I really wrote all that."

For his part Dekhoda wrote in SUR-E-ISRAFIL, No.5 of June 1907: "If I wanted to write about all I know, I would write about various things. For example, I would mention that, if somebody examined the accounts of the British bank, he would find there over ten million

dollars belonging to the Persian government. I would write that the project of the Tabriz highroad, on which a Belgian specialist wasted five months' work and some thousands of tomans from the treasury of our wretched country, has disappeared from the desk of a ministry and ascended to heaven. Did I explain why forging documents, which is criminal everywhere, in Persia is encouraged and approved. . .? One cannot speak about this everywhere. My beard did not turn white in a flour-mill and I was not born today.

"Be assured, Damdameki, I will never write about all that. . . Why should it be my business that Nasr ud-Dowleh, son of Qavam,(3) boasted in the presence of Tehran worthies, 'I drink the blood of Muslims and I shatter the honour of Islam. I am the one who has subjugated and appropriated a tenth of the lands of the province of Fars. It is I who with rifle bullets and cannon fire have destroyed seventy-five men and women of the Qashqai tribe'. What is it to do with me that after this speech the Tehran worthies shouted 'Hurrah' and 'Long live Qavam'? You cannot jump over your own head. But on the day of the terrible judgement all that will be accounted for and they shall answer to us for all."

But in some cases MOLLA NASREDDIN borrowed ideas from SUR-E-ISRAFIL. For example, in July 1907 Dekhoda explained the participation of the old feudal aristocracy in the government by the fact that Persian women could not make themselves throw away old leaking pots and they instilled their love of old rubbish into their children who in turn grew up incapable of clearing the government of those lords. This was followed, in April 1908, by a feuilleton in MOLLA NASREDDIN, which said that the mental capacity of the Persians was lowered by the fact that they always wore kollahs [Persian hats] and did not take them off even at night; the author suggests that the majles should regulate the wearing of kollahs in order to protect the members of the government against mental decline.

The influence of Sabir's poems published in MOLLA NASREDDIN on the revolutionary poetry of Persia is also obvious. As Sabir could not freely comment on political events taking place in Russia, his satire frequently turned against the regime of Mohammad Ali Shah in Persia and that of Abdul Hamid in Turkey. The paper AZARBAIJAN, published at Tabriz, often printed Sabir's poems and answers to them. For example, when in 1907 the banished reactionary prime minister Atabek Azam came back to Persia without permission, Sabir in MOLLA NASREDDIN criticized the Persians that they had let him in. Some months later Atabek Azam was assassinated, AZARBAIJAN answered Sabir that now everything was all right. Sabir in turn wrote another poem, in which he pointed out that one assassination did not improve the situation since there were thousands of such Atabek Azams in Persia;

every six lines were followed by the refrain "Hushaby baby", which made the poem sound like a lullaby. This technique was borrowed by the poem "The Rulers and the People" which appeared in SUR-E-ISRAFIL of 28.2.1908, and until 1911 many poems appeared in Persian periodicals which were written in the form of lullabies and dealt with political subjects.

Sabir's method of attacking the authorities was also followed in Persia: early in 1909 MOLLA NASREDDIN published a satire entitled "I Am Selling", in which he described how the Shah was selling his country cheap - according to Klyashtorina - to "imperialists". (P.40) A month later a Persian paper, NASIM-E-SHEMAL, in a satirical poem described the head of the Tehran clergy, Shaikh Fazlullah, selling at an auction the whole of Persia as his merchandize:

کو خریدار خراج است خراج	حاجی بازار رواج است رواج
عرض و ناموس مسلمانان را	می فروشم همه ایران را
بخريد اين وطن ارزان را	رشت و قزوین و قم و کاشان را
کو خریدار جراج است خراج	تزد و خونسار خراج است خراج

(Hajji, the sale is on, who will buy? Goods for sale! Goods for sale! I am selling the whole of Persia, with the honour and glory of all Muslims thrown in, and Rasht and Qazvin, Qom and Kashan. Buy this cheap country! Yazd and Khansar - the whole lot for sale! Who will buy? For sale, for sale!)

The above examples show that the Azerbaydzhani and Persian literatures had much in common in the years of the Persian Revolution, with the satirical approach to current events as their main characteristic. In that period their literature was represented chiefly by the press. New forms of prose writing - the feuilleton and lampoon - developed, while poetry was based, so far as its form was concerned, on the unwritten folk poetry: lyrical songs, satirical dialogues and couplets. These developments, as well as the ideology of Persian revolutionary literature, was strongly influenced by MOLLA NASREDDIN.

This was the first - and the greatest - period in the history of MOLLA NASREDDIN. The second came in the year 1921 when Mamed Quli Zadeh lived in Tabriz. In that year he managed to publish eight issues, but at the same time he accomplished something far more difficult, namely "he came to understand the historical significance of the Great October Socialist Revolution" (p.26). How genuine this "understanding" was it is difficult to say; anyhow, he returned home and between 1922-30 continued to produce his paper in Baku. It is stated that he diligently

applied himself to fighting "the remnants of capitalism and the enemies of the Soviet Union. . . propagated brotherly friendship with the great Russian People and the neighbouring nations".(4) In 1930, two years before his death, the magazine stopped publication; the reason is not stated but the fact that his biographical sketch in the GREAT SOVIET ENCYCLOPAEDIA is not very detailed suggests that one should look for an explanation in the following statement:

"New conditions [after the Bolshevik Revolution] demanded a new approach, new content and new words. In spite of his brilliant publicist and satirical talents, Jalil Mamed Quli Zadeh did not always manage to answer to the requirements of this new life". (P.26)

Notes

- (1) "Kochi - hired bandits maintained by Baku oil businessmen to deal with the workers". (P.25, note 3.)
- (2) Muslim quarter of Tbilisi.
- (3) Qavam - a "feudal" lord known for his brutal acts against supporters of the constitution.
- (4) SOVIET ENCYCLOPAEDIA, Vol.28, p.132.

Publication of a Kara-Kalpak epic

The Kara-Kalpak epic GARIB ASHIK, which has never previously been published, has been brought out by the Kara-Kalpak State Publishing House. It was prepared for publication by Kh. Tadzhimuratov.

PV. 12.11.59

S O V I E T M U S L I M L I T E R A T U R E

A N D T H E P A R T Y L I N E

This account deals with the more important articles on literature which have appeared in the daily and periodical press of the six Soviet Muslim republics during the period March-August 1959.

National form

As was noted in CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW, Vol. VII, No. 4, pp.341-3, there has recently been a certain amount of agitation against "nationalism" in the Soviet Muslim republics. As dirt has been generally defined as "matter in the wrong place", so "nationalism" to Soviet officialdom is misplaced national feeling. Works which are "national in form" cannot be written by an author who has no national feeling and the need for a guide to the situations where national feeling is or is not in place, is, therefore, great.

There appeared recently in the authoritative theoretical journal of the CPSU, KOMMUNIST, two articles which in differing degrees set out to define, among other things, the place of the "national" element in literature, i.e. to define national form. These two articles are "Peculiarities of the Development of the Literatures of Socialist Nations" by M. Auezov and M. Fetisov in No.12 of 1959, and "Some Problems of International Education" by N. Dzhandil'din, in No.13 of 1959. The latter article, an abridged translation of which appeared in CAR, Vol.VII, No.4, is only partially about literature. Dzhandil'din, who writes mainly about Kazakhstan, states that nationalists "exaggerate the differences between nations and belittle the role of natural laws which lead to the drawing together of Soviet nations". For a culture to be original (samobytnyy), they say, it must be "free" from the influence of the cultures of other peoples. Dzhandil'din also says that too many young Kazakh authors "show their heroes - collective farmers, workers and even young people - always in national robes and headgear, old-fashioned long gowns and vests (kamzoly). These works contain also as obligatory features the yurt and meat cooked Kazakh fashion which the characters eat with their hands while sitting on the floor". Dzhandil'din's point is that this is an out-of-date picture of modern Kazakhstan; yet the question arises why do young writers perpetuate such a picture. The reason is to be found in

the theorists' insistence on two things: (1) that there are natural laws which lead to the "drawing together of Soviet nations", and (2) that a literary work must have a distinctive national form. Both Dzhandil'din and, as will appear, Auezov and Fetisov also, admit, or rather insist, that the process of the "merging" of Soviet nations has already begun in the USSR. A writer of whom the Party demands works of a distinctively national colour about a nation which is supposed to be rapidly losing its distinguishing national characteristics finds himself, therefore, in an obvious dilemma and, not unnaturally, looks for these distinguishing characteristics in the past.

There is, however, another side to the situation. As well as finding it technically difficult to solve the apparent contradiction in the Party's demands, many writers obviously resent the process of merging which they see in full swing around them. Auezov and Fetisov write of tendencies "to make a fetish of the old national literary forms, to idealize the past and campaign for a restoration of the old social system". In the field of literary history, they write, this tendency has led to attempts at the rehabilitation of undesirable bourgeois writers. "Nationalist survivals", they point out, are tenacious and "show themselves in various ways, now in the denial that national originality is enriched by the closest collaboration between fraternal peoples, now in attempts to implant contempt for another nationality, now in an anti-historical exaggeration of the actual value of individual items of the national cultural inheritance. Such tendencies can and do lead in practice to. . . throwing into relief that which serves to separate peoples." The Soviet writer, however, ". . . whatever national, original. . . colours he uses has as his vocation to clothe in images the thoughts and experiences of his nation which are close to the Soviet people as a whole".

The national element in literature, write Auezov and Fetisov, is based on the people's national traditions, which are a result of the process of development of that people in the circumstances peculiar to it. As a result they have "deep roots in the past". It would, however, be a mistake to conclude from this that they are fixed and changeless. On the contrary they are subject to "enrichment" from the national traditions and cultures of surrounding peoples. This is very noticeable, say the authors, in the case of language; the Kazakh language has borrowed not only words but syntactical constructions from Russian and has been made more flexible as a result.

This process of "enrichment" (which Auezov and Fetisov represent as being mutual, although it is to a great extent one-sided) is considered as being simultaneously part of the full-flowering of national cultures which is at present taking place in the USSR, and also part of the process which will end in "a single world-wide culture and

literature", to achieve which "all [the nations of the world] must pass through a lengthy stage of the development of their national, original cultures in accordance with historical laws". Thus the logical result of the full-flowering of national cultures is their disappearance in each other. Auezov and Fetisov assert that there is no contradiction in this - "it is a complex dialectical law".

The question arises what form this "merging" will take. Will Russian culture also lose its identity? A process which could be called "merging" is taking place in Central Asia at the moment but it appears to be taking the form of the russianization of the national cultures (to say this is not to say that it is a bad thing). This portion of Auezov and Fetisov's article contains a panegyric of Russian language and culture which does not suggest that it is envisaged that they should disappear. Also, as noted above, the process of the enrichment of the Central Asian languages has generally taken the form of assimilation, more or less complete, of Russian words and syntax. On the other hand the authors note that hitherto the term "national literatures" has not included Russian literature, and they obviously consider that it should. This suggests that in the future Russian literature and culture may be subjected to the same demands and critical criteria as the other literatures and cultures of the Soviet Union. The article, however, gives no definite answer on this point.

Although the moment of complete merging is in the future, that is, after the victory of communism, it is considered, as has been seen, to have begun already. The overwhelming effect of Russian culture on the indigenous cultures of Central Asia is represented as being part of a general process in accordance with historical laws (and therefore inevitable), a process, moreover, which affects Russian culture as much as any other. The truly "national" writer, therefore, acquiesces in and even welcomes the blurring and eventual disappearance of the language and culture of his people since their place will be taken by an international language and culture.

The problem of "contemporaneity"

Increased attention to contemporary themes is being demanded of Central Asian writers as of Soviet writers generally (see CAR, Vol.VII, No.3, p.256). In Kazakhstan at least that demand was understood to imply that historical subjects would in future be discouraged. This interpretation is supported also by an article in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA (19.3.59) in which A. Chakovskiy writes, "[let us suppose that] during the last war there appeared two books - both of them good - one on Dmitriy Donskoy, whose role in forming our ancient state and in

defending it from its enemies can hardly be overestimated, the other on our contemporary, a soldier or officer of the Red Army. . . Is not the latter hero who lives beside us an example more to be imitated?" The stress is here placed on a book's "inspirational" qualities. During the war everything was secondary to the task of defeating the enemy. Therefore the book which by force of example most promoted this end was the best book. The present situation is regarded as analogous to a war - the fight for the construction of communism - and the writer's role is to produce "militant works of a high moral character which excite the reader" (SK. 24.2.59) and to "show the moral sources of the heroism which is born in the battle for communism" (TI. 6.9.59).

Chakovskiy goes on: "How do I visualize a work on our time? It is a book about the Soviet Man of the period between the XXth and XXIst Party Congresses; on his complex, often agonized, ponderings connected with the unmasking of the cult of personality; on his belief in the power and wisdom of the Party; on his hatred of those who have tried to use the decisions of the XXth Congress to harm our system. . . ."

Central Asian writers in particular have been prone to deal with the past and have achieved some great successes with such themes (Auezov's ABAY, Kerbabayev's THE DECISIVE STEP) and it is perhaps for this reason that Kerbabayev at the 2nd plenum of the Turkmen Writers' Union (TI. 13.6.59) defined contemporaneity (sovremennost') differently from Chakovskiy and, apparently, the Central Committee. Sovremennost', he said, is not merely topicality; in fact topicality is not essential. What is essential is "the spirit of the epoch". So, Kerbabayev's own novel THE DECISIVE STEP, although a historical novel, is "contemporary" because it is permeated with ". . . a modern writer's view of the world, a modern interpretation of the fates of its heroes and of the events of those distant years". (Kerbabayev did not explain how this made his novel different from a hundred other historical novels, or how it was possible at all for a modern author, when writing a historical novel, to avoid projecting his own modern point of view into the past.)

On the other hand, Kerbabayev went on, N. Pomm's recently published short story on the evils of opium smoking, RESURRECTED FROM THE DEAD, although it is set in the present day and has a "topical" theme is not contemporary because it has no educational value, is lifeless and artistically hopeless. The really "contemporary" work must serve the spiritual formation and communist education of the man of the new world. "From this point of view the best, most inspired books about the past of our country, about our great heroes, artists and scholars, about the formation of the new socialist world in battle

and labour, are indisputably necessary and essentially contemporary." Nevertheless with the next breath Kerbabayev says that readers have a right to demand to see the world of today reflected in literature and their demands must be met.

Kerbabayev is contradicting the Party line with his definition of "contemporaneity" since it would in fact permit Central Asian literature to continue using the same themes as before. He may mean that although the past as a theme is now less useful than the present it still has its uses. But, when faced with a choice between the more and less useful, what excuse can a communist writer have for choosing the latter?

In SK. of 19.2.59, D. Dzhumabayev deals with concrete examples of the attempts made by Kirgiz dramatists to write about modern themes in his article "In Search of the Hero of our Day". It was apparently remarked at the second Ten-Day Festival of Kirgiz Art and Literature in Moscow that not only were there few plays on modern themes but that those that existed were, as a rule, bad. K. Dzhanotoshev's play, *IN ONE HOUSE*, on rural life is, says Dzhumabayev, worse than his earlier plays on historical themes. "[The play] has no sharp conflicts or philosophical generalizations. . . . The characters are developed in insufficient depth." In *THE SHREW'S NOOSE* (*Petlya stroptivoy*) Dzhanotoshev draws negative heroes with great skill. "Each of them has his own inimitable features." As to his positive heroes, although they "actively combat survivals of the past. . . . the whole trouble is that the dramatist has not found such vivid colours. . . . as for his negative heroes".

Also criticized were *THE HEART BEATS* (K. Malikov) for an unconvincing story, and *NARROW RAVINE* (T. Abdumamonunov) which, although it is a sharp, successful satire on certain "present-day phenomena", suffers from bad character drawing. On the other hand, M. Alybayev's *IT HAPPENED AT A SPA*, although its character drawing and reproduction of everyday speech are excellent, has no "deep development of the theme, or a wide background of the present day against which people with complex characters and high aspirations could be shown".

The difficulties against which playwrights have to struggle are illustrated in Yakh'ya Seidov's article on "Comedy and the Comic" in *LITERATURNYY AZERBAJDZHAN*, 1959, No.5. Having stated that comedy is in decline in Soviet literature in general and Azerbaydzhani literature in particular because authors have forgotten that it must be militant, must have a target, Seidov goes on to prescribe three such targets for Azerbaydzhani comedy: (1) Capitalism, or "how apologists of capitalism pronounce many high-flown and pathetic phrases about peace and the friendship of peoples. . . . and at the same time

fan the flames of enmity and hatred between peoples and frenziedly prepare for war"; (2) political life in modern eastern countries, especially those which are "bound to the chariot of American imperialism"; (3) survivals of the past within the Soviet Union.

Seidov then deals with the comic hero. "Experience shows that a comedy written on the material of Soviet life and among whose characters the positive hero occupies a prominent place is, as a rule, a failure." His explanation of the reason for this comes to the following: in the past sympathetic comic heroes have, in general, provoked laughter by making other people ridiculous but have not been ridiculous themselves. This was only possible, however, because they were at odds with their society and mocked it by their behaviour. No such incompatibility is possible between a sympathetic hero and Soviet society as a whole, although individual "negative" aspects of it may be criticized as "survivals of the past". Consequently the hero of a comedy of Soviet life must be the object of laughter or mockery.

So Seidov's ideal comedy is one in which the positive hero does not occupy a prominent place and in which all the prominent characters are objects of laughter or ridicule but are not regarded as typical of Soviet society. It is, in the first place, difficult to see how a positive hero can remain "positive" in a play in which he appears at all if he does not occupy a prominent place. In the second place this definition seems to restrict the comedy of Soviet life to one theme - "survivals of the past", although Seidov had already said that comedy's subject-matter should not be so restricted.

Literary criticism

Much attention is paid to the role of the critic in the development of Soviet literature. In a recent article in LITERATURNYY AZERBAYDZHAN, 1959, No.5, K. Talybzade reviews and criticizes the work of Azerbaydzhani critics. He starts by defining the principles: "Our literary scholarship. . . has always striven to approach literature from the positions of Marxist-Leninist aesthetics and has furthered its development in the spirit of the Leninist principles of the party- and class-spirit of literature."

Not only were critics tackling new themes (the connections of literature with life, traditions and innovation, etc.), they were working harder. Between 1955 and 1958 each new novel, story, poem, play has had two, three or more critical articles written on it. Unfortunately, however, not all of them are good; "some are timid. . . toothless. Some critics deliberately. . . say nothing about weakness-

es and faults noticed in the work of this or that author. When this happens it turns out as a rule that the author in question is a well-known venerable writer." Young writers, Talybzade notes, are not treated so mercifully [except, perhaps, when there has recently been an outcry against unfair criticism of young writers, when the critics swing to the other extreme -Ed.].

In general Talybzade gives the impression of a literary criticism characterized by ". . . oversimplification, inability to understand a work's subject matter, figurative structure or composition, the replacement of analysis by an elementary retelling of the story". Some critics were said to be devoid not only of ability but of education. Talybzade's suggested remedies are: (1) to give experienced critics freedom to work; (2) to bring forward more young critics; (3) to be more demanding towards critics, especially young ones; (4) to reorganize the criticism and literary research section of the Writers' Union.

Although the tendency of critics, noted by Talybzade, to avoid giving offence to well-known or established writers is not confined to Azerbaydzhan there has been at least one case of the opposite type of criticism. K. Lagunov, in an article entitled "A Writer's Work must be Respected" (KT. 15.3.59), reproaches literary critic I. Levshina for negative criticism of two pillars of Tadzhik Soviet literature - Rakhim Dzhahalil and Satym Ulug-zoda.

Of the former Levshina writes: "His heroes' characters are so primitive that it is impossible to name one profound, memorable image. Dzhahalil. . . does not think or feel with [his heroes] and so they leave his pen as pale philosophizing shadows." Of the writer's post-war stories she writes: "In spite of a variety of themes and the wide scope of the material. . . [they] are distinguished neither by profundity of thought nor by artistry of execution. They are contrived, without genuine conflicts, and 'edifying'."

Of Satym Ulug-zoda (who has been a writer since 1932 and has the Red Banner of Labour for services in the development of Tadzhik art and literature) Levshina writes (about his play MEN WITH RED STICKS, 1948): "The author has paid little attention to the characters of his dramatis personae." His RETURN is "a weak imitation of a story by Vasilevskaya" and "extremely weak - unfinished, primitive characters".

So entrenched in favour are these two writers that Lagunov refuses to consider Levshina's criticisms as anything else than unscrupulous.

Kazakh poetry

In a review of some of the twenty long poems (poemy) produced in Kazakhstan between 1955 and 1959 D. Abilev in SOVETSKIY KAZAKHSTAN, 1959, No.1, writes: "These poems differ not only in subject but in skill. . . but one common quality unites them - their authors desire to show the high ethics and heroic deeds of Soviet people." "It is especially pleasing that almost all the poets write about the present day."

As a result of Khrushchev's theses on literature "poets are decisively freeing themselves from bare descriptiveness, schematism, wordiness, high-flown pathos", all of which characterized the poems of the 'thirties and some of the poems of a later period.

After remarking that "the creation of works on the glorious labour of workers and miners is very difficult for Kazakh poets", Abilev goes on to praise a poem of this type ENGINEER AKHAN AKTAYEV by Kh. Bekkhozhin. The hero is a Kazakh who, in spite of his father's unjust arrest and his own desertion by the girl he loves, does not lose his faith in justice. He becomes a mining engineer and finds out personally how hard a miner's work is. As a result he invents a labour-saving machine. At the end of the poem his invention is successful, his father is released and the girl he loves returns to him (no connection between these events is suggested).

Of this poem Abilev says: "[In it] are expressed the fates of men and of our country; labour and love, grief and joy are naturally interwoven. . .", which indicates that there is more in the work than has found its way into the summary.

Other works especially praised were A SONG ABOUT A SONG by D. Muldagaliyev on the poet Musa Dzhahilil', and PORTRAITS by A. Tazhibayev which follows the fortunes of a Kazakh communist family from the Civil War to the present day.

In PV. 26.3.59, Izzat Sultanov reviews the recent Uzbek Ten-Day Festival of Literature and Art in Moscow. He notes the increased attention being paid to modern themes but stresses that it is still insufficient. There are as yet no books on the working-class or the Soviet intelligentsia, although such works should occupy first place.

The next step is to be "the creation of new large-scale prose works of significant social content" and the development of new forms such as science-fiction, tales of adventure and the satirical novel. Sultanov says that both short stories and short novels (novelly) were few in number and poor in quality.

The most highly praised works at the festival were STRONGER THAN THE STORM by Sh.Rashidov, A KARAKALPAK TALE by A. Mukhtov, STARS OVER SAMARKAND by S. Borodin, KARAKALPAK NOTEBOOK by Mirtemir and RUSSIA by Shukrullo. In spite of these successes Uzbek writers had been urged by their Moscow colleagues to write "more often, more boldly and better". Sultanov repeats their advice and reveals that "many of the works displayed at the festival could have been important literary achievements if they had not borne the noticeable imprint of lack of 'finish'. Even of the works which were highly praised. . . some contained definite artistic faults."

Although ABAY'S WAY by M. Auezov has become famous within the Soviet bloc and has also been translated into French, it is not generally known that its fame has spread further. M. Karatayev deals with this subject in an article entitled "The World-Wide Reverberations of the Kazakh Epic" in SOVETSKIY KAZAKHSTAN, 1959, No.6.

Kazakh literature, he writes, first became known to the outside world through the works of Dzhambul: "Many delegations visit Kazakhstan now from various countries. They all speak of Dzhambul with affection." Mentioning in passing that this became possible only through the medium of the Russian language, Karatayev proceeds to Auezov.

"The first to react to the epic novel on Abay were Nazim Hikmet, Mao Dun', Louis Aragon and Anna Zegers, the best writers in the world (sic), who express the thoughts and aspirations of progressive mankind." The only other example given of the novel's "reverberations" is a note from a Canadian magazine NORTHERN NEIGHBOURS which apparently published a translation of the first part.

T. Nazarova's book WITH A FIRM TREAD was given a long and extremely unfavourable review in SOVETSKIY KAZAKHSTAN, 1959, No.7, by G. Semenyuk. The book deals with the revolutionary period in Kazakhstan and is criticized for lack of knowledge of Kazakhstan and the life of its people, and of the history of the Revolution in Kazakhstan and, most important, for representing the kolkhoz form of agricultural community as having existed in Kazakhstan before the Revolution. "If we are to believe similar assertions of the author, writes Semenyuk, it appears that to achieve prosperity the Kazakhs had no need either of the class war or of the Revolution."

THE 1100TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE BIRTH OF RUDAKI

In October 1958 Tadzhikistan celebrated the 1100th anniversary of the birth of Abul Hasan Rudaki, the father of classical Persian poetry who wrote in Persian. Soviet scholars, who disregard the intellectual influence of Persia on medieval Tadzhikistan, emphasize with questionable justification that in the lifetime of Rudaki there existed a distinct Tadzhik literature. ZVEZDA VOSTOKA says, "classical Tadzhik and Persian literature in Persian was born amidst the struggle against the government of the country by the Arab caliphate".(1)

It is now generally accepted that Rudaki was born in 884 in the village of Pandzhrudak, Pendzhikent rayon, Leninabad oblast. The discovery of his birthplace has a history of its own. His pseudonym was obviously derived from rudak, meaning a small river, but this clue made it difficult to associate it with any definite place since rudak occurs very frequently in medieval Central Asian place names. The etymology of Rudaki's pseudonym and a careful study of his works convinced S. Ayni, a Tadzhik man of letters, that Rudaki's home was in some valley of the upper Zeravshan. In the 1930s Ayni joined an expedition which visited the mountain valleys east of Samarkand, an area particularly abundant in place names derived from rudak. There his attention was attracted by a much-revered old tomb at Pandzhrudak and the abundance of local legends connected with it. This evidence gives some ground for associating Pandzhrudak with Rudaki but, probable as it was, it was not conclusive and the known facts concerning Rudaki's life were seemingly too scarce to confirm Ayni's discovery. The final act of the romance was to take place some twenty years later.

Rudaki was born of poor parents and tradition says that he was blind from birth; but in spite of this disability he knew the Koran by heart by the time he was eight. His talent was surprisingly many-sided. He knew Arabic and his works testify to his considerable education, philosophy and logic included. It is particularly interesting to find that he imagined the earth to be a globe in motion. He was also a distinguished musician with a mastery of all contemporary musical instruments. As a boy of eight he began to write poetry which, according to a twelfth century historian, Muhammad Afi, "was of so subtle a character that the people regarded it with

admiration. Their love for him increased all the time, for the Lord had given him a beautiful voice and his singing bewitched human hearts".(2) In fact, Rudaki's songs are still popular in his native district. He was primarily a lyrical poet of very rich means of expression; with equal mastery he could compose a qasideh (ode), qet'eh (short poem), masnavi (rhyming distichs) and other forms of verse, while the metre of some of his poems is that of contemporary folk-songs. He also created numerous metres which were subsequently adopted by other poets. The bulk of his work is impressive: according to an eleventh century poet, Rashid Samargandi, it consisted of "thirteen times one hundred thousand lines"(3), of which only about two thousand lines are now extant. Since the second half of the nineteenth century much attention has been devoted to the task of discovering and identifying his poems; it has also been found that a number of poems, hitherto ascribed to him, were in fact written by an eleventh century poet, Qatran.

Rudaki's fame soon outgrew his humble surroundings and he was summoned to the Samanid court at Bukhara where he became a celebrity. In 1222 Aufi wrote: "Rudaki became a master of music and his fame spread all over the world. The son of Ahmad Samani, the Amir Nasr of Khorasan, was his particular patron and he rose high while his wealth increased even more. . .After him no poet was so rich and none could achieve such a great success."(4)

In 938 there was a sudden reverse in Rudaki's fortune when Amir Nasr dismissed Vazir Bal'ami. One of the reasons was Bal'ami's adherence to the Karmatian heresy which had a strong social flavour since it demanded equality for all people. Rudaki shared in the Amir's displeasure as Bal'ami's friend and co-religionist; his property was confiscated and he was driven away from the court. Some years afterwards, in 958, he died at Pandzhrudak.

At an appropriate moment, when plans for celebrating the 1100th anniversary of Rudaki's birth began to be made, Ayni's discovery was confirmed by Professor Mikhail Mikhaylovich Gerasimov, a sculptor and leading authority on reconstructing the appearance of the deceased from their skulls. In 1938 Ayni drew his attention to Rudaki and the Professor became interested in making the poet's portrait. This, however, was impossible, for the site of his grave was uncertain and its excavation would be offensive to the Muslims. It was not until 1956 that an opportunity of finding the grave presented itself. A preliminary step for the Professor was to study Rudaki's works for autobiographical details and the "Ode on Old Age" proved particularly informative. In it the poet mentions the simultaneous loss of his teeth, his blindness and poverty. Armed with these scanty clues,

Gerasimov arrived at Pandzhrudak.

In the old cemetery there, were three graves in which, according to local tradition, some distinguished men were buried. Two of them had already been excavated by archaeologists searching for Rudaki's grave and the Professor concentrated on the third. From local kolkhozniks he learned that once there was a tomb over this grave and this helped him to identify the right site. The grave, situated in the centre of this area, was found one metre under the surface of the ground and after its location was decided, he made the final excavation himself. The skeleton found left little doubt of its identity; its mouth was toothless and certain signs suggested that the man, who had died about the age 85-87, was blind. The problem of blindness is of special interest because of the light it throws on Rudaki's life. Traditionally he is regarded as a man who was born blind, but some of his works suggest that it was not so. His references to landscapes and the seasons of the year make it plain that a man able to describe so vividly subtle things like the interplay of light and shade and able to use picturesque metaphors must have personally seen, and not only felt or heard of his subject. For example:

"Rudaki ran his fingers over the strings and started playing the chang.(5)

And no sooner had he burst into song than his goblet bubbled
with wine.

If you, my friend, saw this stream that is dark and yet scarlet
You would take the liquid for molten ruby.

Essentially they are the same, though they differ in form,
For the crystal of ruby is hard and flows the crystal of wine.
You have hardly touched the goblet, yet your hand glows with
scarlet,

You hardly put it to your lips and lo! you are already drunk."(6)

Poems like this testify to a sensitivity to light and colour, which would be impossible in a man born blind. There are also direct references to his ability to see: "On my way to Nishapur I saw a beautiful village; I saw the sun begin to shine at dawn; All the time my gaze was fixed on the soft ringlets while my ears intensely listened."(7) This evidence seems to contradict the traditional view on Rudaki's blindness. Neither himself nor any contemporary source says he was born blind, but Nishapuri, a fourteen century historian, writes: "Towards the end of his life his eyes were put out."(8) It seems that the tragedy was connected with the unhappy end of Rudaki's career as a court poet. He still enjoyed the Amir's favour when he wrote, "I am a slave because of my comeliness which makes me resemble

Joseph the Fair".(9) It is obvious that a blind man, who moreover probably did not lack antagonists envying his success, would not have described himself in this manner without exposing himself to ridicule. Now the generally accepted view is that Rudaki's eyes were put out when he fell into disgrace and was expelled from the court. It is claimed that Gerasimov's research confirms this view, for his examination of the poet's skull has revealed a deformation of the occipital bone which accompanies blindness, because blind men hold their heads slightly bent backwards; also his bones show traces of violence and some ribs are broken, which might well have happened when this tall and strong man put up a fight to save his eyes. The Professor believes that Rudaki was blinded some 9-10 years before his death.(10)

The approaching anniversary of the poet's birth threw the authorities of Tadzhikistan into a frenzy of activity, the more so because it had been found, somewhat unexpectedly, that in spite of the centuries dividing this modern era from Rudaki's lifetime his works provided appropriate quotations on all aspects of contemporary life. "With the words of the great Rudaki, with his poems written over a thousand years ago the Tadzhik people wrathfully condemn the reckless incendiaries of atomic war; 'Wise men seek goodness and peace, but fools rush to war'."(11) Social references in Rudaki's poems make it possible to use them for propaganda purposes. As his works contain such simple statements of facts like "there are men on whose tables there are mutton and almond tarts, while others have not even barley bread"(12), he is now represented as a fiery champion of the oppressed classes.

On the occasion of his jubilee a monument was erected to him in the Moscow Square in Stalinabad and works of art were produced to order. The composers of Tadzhikistan and other "brother republics" put Rudaki's words to music and painters provided numerous portraits of him. Though Gerasimov's reconstruction of his features facilitated their work, its quality - so far as can be judged from reproductions in the press - is poor, and even the painting by M.R. Khoshmukhamedov, acclaimed as the best of all, is very conventional. Its title is "The Birth of a Song" and it represents Rudaki deep in thought, with a string musical instrument in his hands and an open book in front of him. The work of contemporary poets inspired by a sudden outburst of admiration for their great predecessor is hardly more distinguished. Tadzhikfilm produced a film version of his life, "The Destiny of a Poet" with a young actor, M. Aripov, in the title role. Rudaki's home has not been forgotten either: Pandzhrudak now boasts a new domed mausoleum built in stone and ferro-concrete while Pendzhikent has acquired a Rudaki Museum. A more valuable expression of this admiration of the poet is the publication of his collected

works in three volumes, for the first volume contains some hundred beyt (couplet) hitherto unknown, and identified by the staff of the oriental department of the Tadzhik Academy of Sciences and the Institute of Language and Literature.

In the autumn of 1958 at the Head Office of Industrial Co-operation an exhibition of souvenirs commemorating the anniversary was held. There one could see a plaster bust of the poet, a big portrait embroidered in silk, a scarf and medals bearing his likeness, also ashtrays, dishes, earrings for children and bracelets. There were also specimens of Tadzhik folk art - kerchiefs, skull-caps, clothes, carpets and pottery. Many of those objects were recommended for mass production, so that citizens supplied with the ashtrays representing their great poet can endorse the statement made by PRAVDA: "This celebration of the glorious jubilee of Rudaki inspires us, Tadzhiks, and all the Soviet people with a profound feeling of gratitude to the Party and Government who not only encourage the development of our modern culture, but carefully preserve the better part of the rich cultural heritage of all the nations of our multi-national mother country." (13)

Notes

- (1) ZVEZDA VOSTOKA, No.10, 1958 (subsequently ZV), p.210.
- (2) KT., 15.10.58.
- (3) Ibid.
- (4) ZV., p.210.
- (5) A string instrument similar to the zither.
- (6) ZV., p.212.
- (7) Ibid., pp.211-12.
- (8) Ibid., p.212.
- (9) Ibid.
- (10) An expert medical opinion states that 10 years is not enough to deform the occipital bone. The additional fact that the skull is toothless does not seem to prove that it is Rudaki's. -Ed. CAR.
- (11) KT., 15.10.58.
- (12) ZV., p.213.
- (13) PRAVDA, 15.10.58.

THE FRONTIER GUARDS OF KAZAKHSTAN

The following article is an abridged translation of a feuilleton entitled "Dozory Slushayut Tishinu" (The Guards Are Listening to Silence) by S. Mart'yanov and N. Rovenskiy, which appeared in SOVETSKIY KAZAKHSTAN, No.8, 1959. It describes the life of the guards at an unspecified frontier post on Kazakhstan's border with China. The romantic style of this item is strongly reminiscent of Kipling in his stories of the North-West Frontier of India under British rule. But whereas the frontier of British India was guarded by Frontier Militia and Frontier Force units composed entirely of Indian troops with a sprinkling of British officers, the Frontier Guards in Kazakhstan appear to be composed mainly of non-Kazakhs - Russians, Ukrainians and others. Of those mentioned in the present narrative it is noteworthy that a large majority, whether on active service or retired and settled in the local kolkhoz, are non-Asians: there are four Ukrainians, ten Russians, one Armenian, one uncertain and five whose names suggest Asian origin. The absence of additional information makes it impossible to say whether the national composition of the guards is coincidental or due to a deliberate policy of the authorities.

. . .

Here everything is strange: the KSP (kontrol'no-sledovaya polosa - frontier control zone) behind which lies another country, the infrequent watch-towers and the very narrow and hardly visible footpath of the patrols. But the most unusual features of this land are its desolation and quiet. . . And yet nobody can cross the frontier unnoticed.

Listen to this story. One morning Private Aleksandr Dan'shin was inspecting the KSP. After the night's rain the weather was cool and bright. Suddenly he saw two hardly noticeable footprints partly washed away by water - so somebody had passed this way before the rain.

Dan'shin notified his post, marked the spot and quickly followed the footprints. After a while a mounted alarm group with an officer took over the pursuit. . . Yulybayev was the first to spot the trespassers. Far ahead his sharp eyes recognized two human forms

emerging and disappearing among the dunes. The guards spurred their horses and soon overtook two young men. . .

The combination of quiet and loneliness with vigilance and a constant state of readiness of the frontier posts is the most typical characteristic of the border.

We are driving to the post. . . Suddenly a village appears below in the valley of a small mountain river. What a village! One can hardly see the roofs of houses and kolkhoz buildings amidst the trees. We cross the valley and follow a twisting, clayey road leading to the post situated directly above the village. And again we feel as if somebody were playing a trick upon us: the post looks like something between a sanatorium and a model house of rest. The aryks (irrigation ditches) ripple coolly and caressingly and tall silvery poplars and elms rustle. . . In the stable behind the building horses placidly munch their oats and in the road a bleating kolkhoz herd is going to the mountains. A quiet, peaceful life. But then we notice an inscription "Place for cleaning arms" and a poster neatly placed on a tree proclaims, "Arms do not like jokes and do not forgive mistakes". Every night in the briefing room the commander of the post solemnly announces to the patrols going on duty, "The orders are to go and protect the frontier of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics," and the young patrol leader, his face suddenly grave, earnestly repeats the orders word by word.

In the frontier post two trends of our life are closely interwoven: the creative and peace-loving with the warlike and soldierly. These two trends unite in the life of any frontier guard.

When we were watching how competently, kindly but firmly, Junior Sergeant Al'bert Aydinov of Rostov handled his dog Botsman, we thought that he had spent his whole short life training watch-dogs. But we were mistaken - this intelligent young Armenian with his typically melodious voice is a senior "selector" (starshiy selektsioner - specialist in breed selection) and a poet. He corresponds with an Armenian literary gazette, GRAGAN TERT, and with a teachers' paper, USUTSCHAKAN TERT, which has published his poem "The Frontier". He still has a year and a half to serve, but he has already decided to obtain the diploma of an agronomist-selector - and to do so at Michurinsk.

At the post we met Private Aleksandr Oplachko. He comes from the Altay region and has spent all his life in the country. He had completed the fourth grade, worked in a kolkhoz where he operated a horse-drawn mowing machine and, before he was called up, he became a tractor driver. Then he was sent to the frontier and though he was

used to hard work and severe frosts, he has learned the frontier "wisdom" the hard way and used to get into trouble.

"Were you punished?" we asked.

"Indeed, yes," Oplachko admitted with embarrassment. . . "They drove cattle through the KSP and I did not cover up their tracks and I received a ten-day detention," he said and blushed. . .

"What are you going to do when you are demobilized?"

"I want to go to evening classes - it is a 'must'."

But not every man has decided his future - for example, Private Tereshchenko reluctantly said that he still had a long service to do and then he would see. We thought he was a mediocre, undistinguished man, but the commander of the post remarked with a knowing smile,

"Private Tereshchenko? Interesting young man. . . One of our better footprint experts. He has caught three trespassers and he will tell you much that is interesting."

Boris Machinin is young, of the same age as many of his soldiers. Only last year he graduated from a military college and before that he had lived in Leningrad and finished ten-year school. What has caused him to choose the difficult profession of a frontier officer?

"Ours is a 'frontier' family," he smiles, "one uncle is a lieutenant-colonel, another uncle is a senior lieutenant and my sister's husband is a frontier officer. So I follow them. . . And, you know, I like my work and I would never change it for any other. Now I intend to go to a military VUZ. . . Although I have finished military college with distinction and could have found myself a comfortable little post as an adjutant, I asked straight away to be sent to a frontier post. Life here is very interesting - as many personalities as there are soldiers."

Life at a frontier post is varied. Some hot-headed romantic might be surprised and even offended to hear that each post has a farm of its own. But Sergeant Major (starshina) Mikhail Fedorovich Grishanov proudly says that the post has a one-hectare garden, three pigs, two cows, two calves and many hens. Could frontier guards be indifferent to the appeals of the Party and the Government to increase the production of milk and meat?

We have noticed something new at the post, something that was not here two years ago - self-service shops for the soldiers. . . They supply all the men want: cigarettes, matches, sweets, eau-de-Cologne, notebooks, paper, envelopes. . . They are open all day and from time to time the stock is checked. Nothing is missing as a rule. . .

Once the manager of a neighbouring kolkhoz asked the soldiers' help in planting an orchard. Can you think of a more pleasant and gay job? In one Sunday they planted an area of nine hectares. An officer named Sorokolit particularly mentions Sergeant Kaytanov and Privates Il'chenko and Arduanov: the boys worked well and did not disgrace the post. Was it possible not to show them gratitude for such help? The kolkhozniks presented the soldiers with a hundred and fifty young trees and now the post has some four hundred trees - apricot and apple-trees of three varieties. . . One of the soldiers is responsible for each of them and the tree bears a label with his name. This small apricot, already at the fruiting stage, belongs to Anatoliy Il'chenko. It is not without pride that he tells us he has planted three fruit trees and two poplars at the post and they all grow. He is familiar with the job for at home, in the village of Ogiblyanka, Belgorod oblast, he and his brother planted a large orchard. . . Thus the frontier guards not only guard but adorn the Soviet land.

Naturally, not all the men serve as well as Al'bert Aydinov, Anatoliy Il'chenko, Anatoliy Tereshchenko or Aleksandr Oplachko. "There are sometimes unruly, careless and arrogant men," says Sergeant Major Grishanov. But their comrades quickly find a way to handle them: a Komsomol meeting and a satirical leaflet appear to be loyal supporters of the officers. . .

We should add that the soldiers like literature and every post has a library where the majority of the books are about frontier guards and their duties. There are also many classics and books by Soviet authors; they look much-read and they serve their readers well.

At one of the posts we went to a concert given by an amateur team. It was getting dark and the grounds were lit up with car headlights. One cannot say that the items on the programme were beyond reproach but the men who had to go on duty left with regret this impromptu club and envied a little those who had returned from the frontier and took over their seats. Appreciation of the artists was expressed loudly and sincerely, not because the audience was uncritical but because it was truly grateful to the people who had travelled many kilometres and were already tired.

One Saturday evening it was announced by the local broadcasting centre: "The Komsomol group of the post appeals to the senior pupils of the middle school to take part in the Komsomol Sunday (voskresnik - voluntary collective work on Sunday), the task will be to construct a wire entanglement along the State frontier."

The following morning village girls and boys began to gather on the frontier, which at this point passes right behind the village so that one can throw a stone into Chinese territory. The kolkhoz cows and sheep sometimes wander to the Chinese side and cause much trouble to the frontier guards - though the matter is not limited to cows and sheep. So it was decided to fence off the village from the frontier and replace the old derelict fence with a new wire one. Free hands at the post are not numerous and without the help of the local Komsomols the work could not be done.

Today the soldiers and pupils together have been digging pits, erecting poles and stretching wire. When the work was in full swing the manager of the kolkhoz arrived, a swarthy, energetic man, and smiling at the girls he joked:

"See this? Even with a stick one cannot make them weed our maize, but here they work with pleasure. . . Many frontier men have settled among us when they left the service. . . Petrov, Gamayunov, Stepanchenko, Kozlov, Ryzhov, Teslev. . . Some are now ordinary kolkhozniks, some tractor or lorry drivers. They have married and have homes of their own. And good chaps they are, my right-hand men in all undertakings!"

The kolkhoz is rich: last year its income was 5,780,000 rubles; each kolkhoznik received 8 rubles 50 kopeks in cash and a kilogramme of bread per working day.

Have the kolkhozniks ever detained frontier trespassers?

"Yes, Alzhambekov Dzhidabay caught one; so did Bekbasunov Amirzhan and Kuyantsev Mikhail Yakovlevich. Our people are always on the alert - they work in the fields or tend the cattle and watch what is going on around."

The officers listening to our conversation nodded assent. They know very well that the frontier guards are strong, for the population always gives them help.

Chinese posts guard the frontier just as strictly and efficiently. The close cooperation of the Soviet and Chinese frontier defenders ensures that the enemy will not be able to cross it to one side or the

other. An old Russian proverb "Let not friendship interfere with duty" (druzhba druzhboy, a sluzhba sluzhboy), does not fit here for the Chinese and Soviet soldiers share both friendship and duty. We were lucky enough to witness their cordial meeting under an arch of friendship inscribed "SSSR". Chinese officers, interpreter Fan' Kedin' and commander of a control-transit station U Gun-chan, met our men like old and intimate friends: their broad and good-natured smiles and exclamations, "O!" meaning that here at last they had managed to meet, and hearty handshakes testified to those feelings. While the soldiers in the frontier guard-room were making arrangements for the crossing of a group of Soviet doctors into the Chinese People's Republic, we watched the highroad leading into China: one by one lorries drive up to our control-transit station, their wind-screens bearing the letters SU (Soviet Union). The lorries are loaded with winnowing-machines, saltpetre and ploughs. While the KPP (kontrol'no-propusknoy post - control-transit station) officer on duty carefully inspects the loads, we talk with lorry driver B.L. Bober who since 1955 has been transporting agricultural implements to China. His journey, though, is not far, since the delivery point, a small Chinese village, can be seen from the frontier.

Bober tells us about the joy and gratitude with which the Chinese receive the gifts from their Soviet friends. It is interesting that the Chinese frontier guards very superficially inspect lorries coming from us - so completely do they trust the Soviet KPP men.

The road is very busy: in half an hour's time two lorries have passed into China and one back.

At last the guards have settled all the details of the Soviet doctors' journey. We bid an affectionate good-bye to the Chinese, take their photograph and each of us picks one twig as a souvenir of our meeting. As our Pobeda car takes us away from the frontier, lorries with the SU inscription keep passing us all the time. . .

I R R I G A T I O N I N C E N T R A L A S I A

PART ONE

Water resources of Central Asia - Inter-republican irrigation networks.

This, the first of two articles on irrigation, consists of a general description of water resources (see also CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW, Vol.V, No.3). The second article, which will appear in the next issue of CAR, describes existing and projected irrigation schemes.

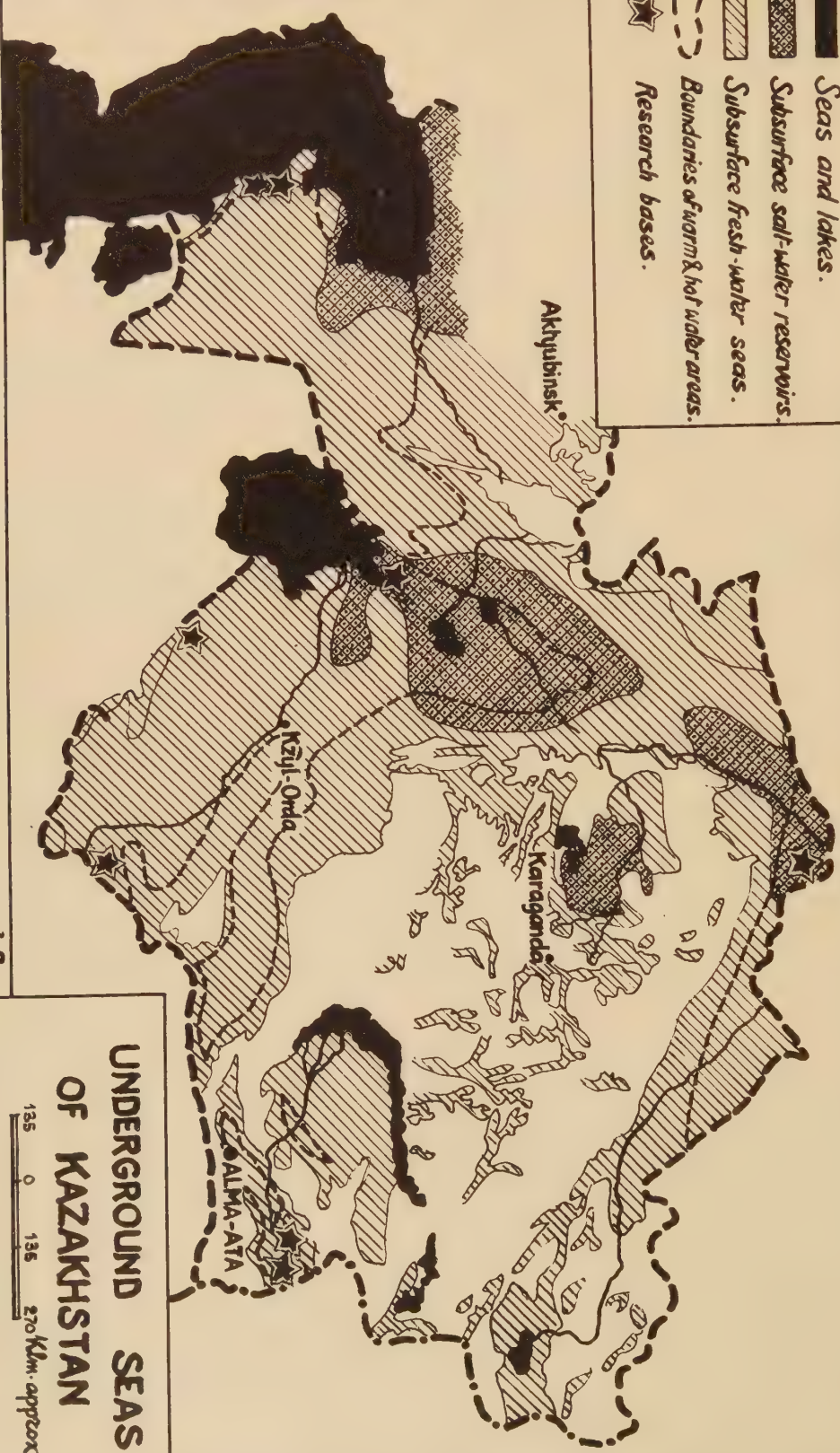
. . .

Water resources of Central Asia

Central Asia is one of the most arid areas in the world, though it has a number of big rivers. None of them flows into the open sea; they either vanish into the sands or finish their courses in lakes, some of which are so small that they dry up in summer. From the point where the rivers descend to the plains, they lose much of their water in irrigation and evaporation. Only the biggest, the Amu- and the Syr-Dar'ya, reach the Aral Sea.

The rivers carry a large amount of sand and silt from the mountains, which they deposit along their lower courses thus continually changing the line of their banks - a good example is the Karakum created by the Amu-Dar'ya deposits. The amount of water in the rivers is controlled by the snows and glaciers in the mountains, so that the bigger rivers carry an increased amount of water twice a year: at the beginning of summer when the lower-lying snows dissolve and in the middle of summer, sometimes as late as August, when the eternal snows and glaciers high in the mountains melt.(1) Such are the Amu- and the Syr-Dar'ya, the Chu and others. The last mentioned carries between May-September 60 per cent of its yearly flow; the Naryn at its entrance into the Fergana Valley carries 70 per cent in the same period and the Zeravshan - 82 per cent.

- Seas and lakes.
- Subsurface salt-water reservoirs.
- Subsurface fresh-water seas.
- Boundaries of warm & hot water areas.
- Research bases.



UNDERGROUND SEAS OF KAZAKHSTAN

135 0 135 270 Km. approx.

J.P.

The rivers flowing from the Kopet-Dag have a different regimen. Since they collect their water from less high mountains without eternal snow, they depend on seasonal rains and reach their maximum level in spring, i.e. the rainy season coinciding with the melting of snow on the slopes. Eventually they disappear into the sands, except the Atrek which manages to reach the Caspian. Thus irrigation systems based on the rivers must be adapted to both their individual character and the requirements of the crops raised in the irrigated areas.

The most important rivers flow from the Tyan'-Shan' and the Pamirs. Most of the former's ranges are covered with snow and glaciers which feed many rivers, the largest being the Syr-Dar'ya, Ili, Chu and Talass. The Pamirs, though smaller in area, carry more snow and ice and this makes them the most important area in Central Asia from which the rivers rise. It is from here that the largest river starts - the Amu-Dar'ya.

The highland regions feed also the Artesian wells created by the rivers and springs which sink into the sands. Such underground "seas"(2) are scattered throughout Central Asia, even under the steppes and deserts and, though still little exploited, they offer quite fantastic possibilities of irrigation development. For example, three-fourths of the area of Kazakhstan, almost equal in size to Western Europe, is made up of steppes and deserts and it is reckoned that a mere tenth of Kazakhstan's subsurface waters, if properly used, would convert its deserts into flourishing oases. Artesian wells have been discovered in Uzbekistan, Tadzhikistan and Turkmenistan. In Kazakhstan by April 1958 over 60 large "seas" had been located, some of them of impressive size: thus the Muyunkum "sea" covers an area of some 50,000 square kilometres and lies 300-500 metres under a sandy desert of the same name; a still bigger "sea", under the Kzyl-kum, contains 250 milliard cubic metres of water lying 80-300 metres under the surface. A recently discovered "sea", in the Akmolinsk oblast, under the bottom of Lake Kalmakkol', stretches 150 km. from east to west, its maximum width being 50 km. In Turkmenistan in the foothills of the Kopet-Dag there is an abundance of underground water. The same is true of many mountain regions of Tadzhikistan which now suffer from water shortage. The subsurface waters are subject to high pressure and often gush from the wells like fountains. Thus the desert and semi-desert lands, situated far from the rivers and hitherto regarded as uncultivable, can be irrigated by underground waters and the construction of wells is becoming as important as that of canals.

Another variation of the underground water resources, peculiar to Central Asia, are the so-called "returning" (vozvratnyye) rivers

which play an important part in irrigation. They are produced mainly by water used for irrigation which filters through the light soils, partly reappearing in the lower-lying areas in the form of streams and small rivers. In some areas the "returning" waters constitute up to 30 per cent of the total resources used for irrigation and even more in the Fergana Valley. Round the outlets of such springs form bogs which subsequently become salt marshes owing to the high evaporation rate. Thus in some arid regions agriculture depends on reclamation as well as on irrigation.

Inter-republican irrigation networks

Border territories are sometimes irrigated jointly by the appropriate authorities of the republics concerned. The Great Chu Canal, serving Kirgizia and the adjoining part of Kazakhstan, is a good example. The Chu is one of the problem rivers of Central Asia: In May and June, when the crops need water, the Chu does not provide enough; the rapid melting of glaciers in the second half of summer causes floods and much water is wasted in uncultivated steppes. To remedy this, the Orto-Tokoy reservoir has been constructed and by May 1958 its 52 metre high dam was almost finished. It lies nearly two kilometres above sea-level - the first dam of its size in the USSR to be situated so high. The reservoir, whose capacity is 500m. cubic metres of water, lies in a canyon of the same name through which the Chu flows. It regulates the whole flow of the river by returning its water back to the main stream below the dam when necessary. After the Chu has left the mountain zone, at the 110th and 140th km., two big barrages (vodozabornyye uzly) have been constructed and it is at this point that the Great Chu Canal starts. It consists of two separate parts, its total length being 245 km., of these over 57 km. are in the Dzhambul oblast of Kazakhstan where it will allow the present area of cultivable lands to be doubled. The Kazakh part was to be put into operation in 1958. The canal will be fully exploited for irrigation after the total of 2,300 km. of canals and 17,800 water-control structures have been constructed. Great areas of waste lands will be brought into cultivation and new orchards and vineyards will appear in the Chu valley.

Both Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan are interested in developing the Kyzylkum, 300,000 square kilometres of desert between the Amu- and the Syr-Dar'ya. The Kyzylkum can be used for agriculture and cattle breeding when they receive enough water. The attack on the desert opened in 1957 when the Kzyl-Orda dam on the Syr-Dar'ya was put under construction.(3) The reservoir will make it possible to irrigate millions of hectares of pasture and cultivable land on both sides of the river. The task of irrigating the Kyzylkum desert has been

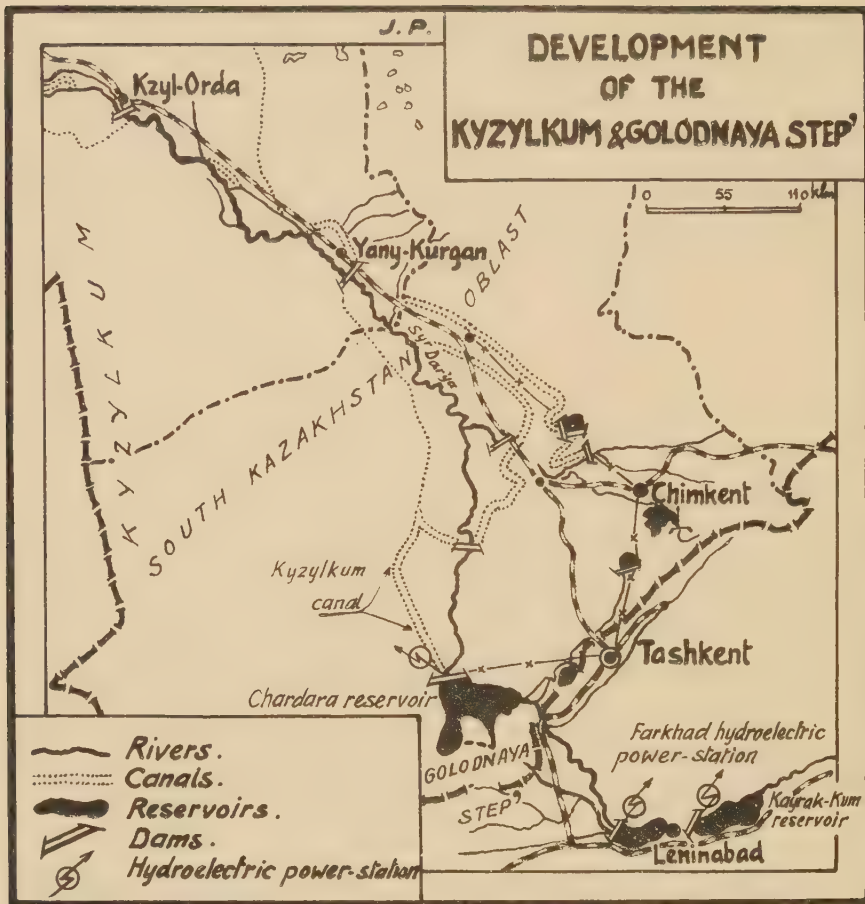
greatly facilitated by the existence of the Zhana-Dar'ya, through which a large part of the Syr-Dar'ya water used to flow to the Aral Sea, but after 1816 the flow ceased. The Zhana-Dar'ya is over 500 km. long and on either side there are good grazing lands which until now could not be properly used because of the shortage of water. In December 1958 the Syr-Dar'ya waters once more began to flow through the Zhana-Dar'ya, and the extensive pastures in the Syr-Dar'ya, Teren'-Uzyak, Dzhalagash, Karmakchi and Kazalinsk rayons have been opened up for cattle breeding. The Zhana-Dar'ya is fed from the upper water of the Kzyl-Orda dam through a network of canals - first a new canal 6.8 km. long, then the bed of the Turangylsay (60 km.), Kur-Uzyak (10.3 km.), a new canal (3.8 km.) and finally the water reaches the reconstructed bed of an old stream (8.6 km.) through which it passes to the Zhana-Dar'ya and along it to the Aral Sea.

The Kurvan-Dar'ya is an offshoot of the Zhana-Dar'ya which did not dry up until after 1842. Now it will be employed for irrigation: special installations will be constructed at the point where it connects with the Zhana-Dar'ya and through them water will be directed into the Mayli-Uzyak through which it will reach the Kurvan-Dar'ya. The total length of this network will be 435 km.

At Tamyr-Bugut the Kurvan-Dar'ya irrigation network is joined with the southern water "collector" canal, 152 km. long, whose construction started in 1958.(4) It will collect superfluous irrigation water and will also supply pasture lands with water.

Along the Zhana-Dar'ya and part of the Kurvan-Dar'ya lie small areas which were cultivated before the two rivers went dry; there are old irrigation networks in a good state of preservation which now will be used again. Thus Syr-Dar'ya water will make productive a great part of the Kyzylkum.

Underground waters play a prominent part in the irrigation of the Uzbek Kyzylkum famous for their astrakhan lambs. In the Kenimekh rayon one kolkhoz, a pioneer in oasis irrigation (oazisnoye orosheniye), started an irrigated farm (polivnoye khozyaystvo) in 1952. By 1957 it already had 6 ha. of land reclaimed from the desert on which fruit and vegetables grew. Excellent results were also obtained in the oases created by the Pasture and Improvement Construction Trust round Artesian wells. These oases will in future differ little from villages in the irrigated areas and will greatly improve the conditions of work of the shepherds. A good example of the agricultural possibilities of the Kyzylkum is an oasis farm belonging to the Ayak-Kuduk sovkhoz. It is based on an Artesian well producing 18 litres of water per second. There are 11 ha. of cultivated land on which melons, maize and barley grow as well as



11,000 trees. But the local kolkhozes and sovkhozes receive no help from the rayon and Bukhara oblast authorities, and so long as land reclamation in the Kyzylkum depends on their individual effort, no important progress can be made. There is no general planning so the distribution of wells does not correspond to local needs and many wells pour out water which gets wasted in the sands and forms salt marshes.

The southern Golodnaya Step', in the south-east of the Kyzylkum, is divided between Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan. In 1956 the Central Committee of the Party and the Councils of Ministers of the USSR decided that the steppe must be made cultivable and thousands of people came from all over the Union to carry out the task. In 1957 there were already six new kolkhozes which cultivated 19,000 ha. and a new town, Yangi-Yer, was started as the administrative centre of the steppe. Another important scheme under construction was the Southern Canal beginning at the Farkhad hydroelectric power-station; its

length is 90 km. and it is expected to irrigate 125,000 ha. in the southern part of the steppe. In the same year construction began of the Central water "collector" canal(5) which will remove underground salt water; the area protected by it will expand together with the growth of cultivated land. The disposal of subsurface waters plays a very important part in land reclamation, the more so because it will improve the condition of the cultivable land. The climate of the steppe will improve and fields will receive protection from the wind when forest belts have grown; the planting of trees started in the autumn of 1957.

The main schemes to exploit the Syr-Dar'ya for irrigation and electrification have been so far limited to its upper and middle course. There the Chirchik-Bozsuy and Farkhad hydroelectric power-stations have been built and in 1957 construction started of the biggest Central Asian "hydro-knot", (6) the Kayrak-Kum reservoir with the Friendship of Nations power-station. Further development in this area would eventually sharply decrease the amount of water in the lower course of the river (1,000 km. in length) and gravely affect agriculture in the adjoining rayons of Kazakhstan. Moreover, the water level in the Syr-Dar'ya varies very considerably from year to year and from one season to another. These difficulties will be solved by the Chardara reservoir in the South-Kazakhstan oblast. On the one hand, it will allow the hydroelectric power-stations and irrigation networks in the upper reaches of the river to be used to the best advantage, and on the other it will control the amount of water in its lower course, thus eliminating the danger of both floods and shortage. The Chardara "hydro-knot" will be completed in 1965; it will consist of a reservoir on the Syr-Dar'ya, with a capacity of 5.7 milliard cubic metres of water, a hydroelectric power-station and a dam 4.8 km. long, with a maximum height of 23.5 metres. It will irrigate 500,000 ha. in the Golodnaya Step', while in southern Kazakhstan 260,000 ha. will receive regular and 400,000 ha. estuary (limannoye)(7) irrigation. The area of pasture will increase by 2m.ha.

Southern Khorezm is divided between Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan so that both republics are interested in improving the condition of the soil in this agricultural area. To this end the Ozerney "collector" canal is being constructed and it is expected to be finished in 1963. It starts near Khiva, from salt Lake Ulu-shorkul', crosses 26 lakes and ends in the Sarakamysh depression (vpadina). It is 199 km. long, of these 139 km. are in the Tashauz oblast of Turkmenistan. It will collect superfluous surface and subsurface waters from the fields of the kolkhozes of eight Uzbek and four Turkmen rayons and thus protect them from salt; it will also cause over twenty salt lakes to dry up.

Sources

1. Central Asian press, 1957-9.
2. SREDNYAYA AZIYA. Akademiya Nauk SSSR, Institut Geografii. Moscow, 1958.
3. SREDNYAYA AZIYA: FIZIKO-GEOGRAFICHESKY OCHERK. E. Murzayev. Moscow, 1957.

Notes

- (1) This presumably refers to rain-fed freshets and floods in the winter: a surge in late spring from the lower snows and then another surge in summer. What is not clear is whether there is a period of uncomfortable shortage in late summer before the next rains begin.
- (2) The literal translation of the Russian word more (sea) has been retained, although it sounds out of place and romantic in English, where "reservoir" would be more usual.
- (3) KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA of 29.6.56 reported that the Kzyl-Orda dam had just been completed, but the same paper of 22.8.59 states that "two years ago the Kzyl-Orda dam on the Syr-Dar'ya was put under construction".
- (4) The exact meaning of the word "collector" (kollektor) is not clear. If it handles "superfluous" irrigation water it sounds like a drain. But drains do not normally irrigate "pasture lands", or any other kind of lands. It might be a kind of intercepting canal to catch minor flood-flows from wadis etc., which are "superfluous" in the sense that they want to get them under control and use to irrigate pasture lands on a broad flooding basis, rather than let them run to waste.
- (5) Here "collector" undoubtedly means a "drain" for the removal of underground salt water.
- (6) The Russian expression gidrouzel has been translated literally as "hydro-knot" since this conveniently conveys the meaning of a combination of installations comprising river-control and a hydroelectric reservoir.

- (7) The Russian term limannoye orosheniye (estuary irrigation) is defined in the GREAT SOVIET ENCYCLOPAEDIA as a "single springtime watering of the soil to the depth of 1-1.5 metres or more achieved by retaining melted snow". Apparently what is meant here is that the all-round-the-year flow is enough to irrigate 260,000 ha. "regularly" and fully, while for the 400,000 ha. water can only be found for the season of greatest flow. If this is a correct interpretation, the distinction is between "perennial" and "flood-season" irrigation.
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Turkmen Deputy relieved of duties

Deputy A. Sariyev, Vice-Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, has been relieved of his duties and replaced by Deputy N. Bayramov, previously Chairman of the Presidium of the Turkmen Republic Supreme Soviet. P. 31.10.59

Spelling of Kazakh place-names

An article in KP by the head of the Kazakh railways and a philologist complains that the names of many Kazakh railway stations are wrongly transcribed in the Cyrillic. Some are greatly distorted and others contradict Kazakh literary pronunciation and spelling. KP. 17.11.59

New Road Atlas of the USSR

A new road atlas of the USSR has just been published. The maps are on a small scale and show the roads existing on 1 January 1958. Railways, and many other details including hotels, are also shown. The atlas - ATLAS AVTOMOBIL'NYKH DORGG SSSR - has 75 maps, six of which are devoted to Kazakhstan. KP. 18.10.59

R E V I E W S

Archéologie Soviétique en Asie. By Grégoire Frumkin.
96pp; map; bibliog. ÉTUDES ASIATIQUES, Vol.XI, 1957-8,
journal of the Société Suisse d'Études Asiatiques.

This carefully prepared study provides an excellent and concise description of Soviet archaeological operations and writing. As such it will be found an excellent introduction and companion to the articles on the same subject which appear occasionally in CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW.

As Mr. Frumkin points out, Western archaeologists are sometimes inclined to minimize the importance of Soviet archaeology, partly because of their unfamiliarity with the Russian language. Another more serious reason is that Soviet archaeology is made to serve the ends of ideological propaganda and takes too ready-made a view of history for Western tastes. Nevertheless, Soviet work has an important contribution to make to existing knowledge and deserves far closer study than it has so far received.

Mr. Frumkin's study is divided into six chapters dealing with Armenia, Khorezm, Turkmenistan (Parthian Margiana), Bactria and Sogdia, the Pamirs, Tyan'-Shan', Fergana and Semirech'ye, and the Altay (the art of the Scythians). A useful geographical glossary, a bibliography, and a map showing the main historical and archaeological sites are appended.

NEWS DIGEST

The following items are taken from newspapers and periodicals received during the period 1 October - 31 December 1959. A list of abbreviations used will be found at the beginning of the Review.

ADMINISTRATIVE AND TERRITORIAL CHANGES

Administrative changes

Administrative changes are recorded in the following appointments only: First and Second Party Secretaries, Chairmen of the Councils of Ministers (Prime Minister), Chairmen of the State Planning and State Security Committees, and Ministers of Communications. The present holders of these offices in the republics are as follows:

Azerbaijdzhan

Akhundov, V.Yu.	First Secretary of the CC of the Azerbaijdzhan CP
Semichastnyy, V.	Second Secretary of the CC of the Azerbaijdzhan CP
Iskenderov, M.A.	Chairman of the Council of Ministers
Kardashev, A.V.	Chairman of the State Security Committee
Guseynov, T.K.	Minister of Communications

Turkmenistan

Karayev, D.	First Secretary of the CC of the Turkmen CP
Akulintsev, V.K.	Second Secretary of the CC of the Turkmen CP
Ovezov, B.	Chairman of the Council of Ministers
Pishchulin, D.I.	Chairman of the State Security Committee
Gusev, A.I.	Minister of Communications

Uzbekistan

Rashidov, Sh.R.	First Secretary of the CC of the Uzbek CP
Titov, F.Ye.	Second Secretary of the CC of the Uzbek CP
Alimov, A.A.	Chairman of the Council of Ministers
Zyyadullayev, S.K.	Chairman of the State Planning Committee
Byzov, A.P.	Chairman of the State Security Committee
Sharkov, M.A.	Minister of Communications

Tadzhikistan

Ul'dzhabayev, T.	First Secretary of the CC of the Tadzhik CP
Obnosov, P.S.	Second Secretary of the CC of the Tadzhik CP
Dodkhudayev, N.	Chairman of the Council of Ministers
Kakharov, A.	Chairman of the State Planning Committee
Tsvigun, S.K.	Chairman of the State Security Committee
Sayko, V.A.	Minister of Communications

Kirgizia

Razakov, I.R.	First Secretary of the CC of the Kirgiz CP
Churkin, V.N.	Second Secretary of the CC of the Kirgiz CP
Dikambayev, K.D.	Chairman of the Council of Ministers
Dyushaliyev, B.	Chairman of the State Planning Committee
Yermolov, I.G.	Chairman of the State Security Committee
Toropkin, A.G.	Minister of Communications

Kazakhstan

Kunayev, D.A.	First Secretary of the CC of the Kazakh CP
Rodionov, N.N.	Second Secretary of the CC of the Kazakh CP
Tashenev, Zh.A.	Chairman of the Council of Ministers
Mel'nikov, L.G.	Chairman of the State Planning Committee
Lunev, K.F.	Chairman of the State Security Committee
Noskov, A.A.	Minister of Communications

Territorial changesAzerbaydzhan

By decree of 3 December 1959 the following rayons of the town of Baku have been combined:

Dzerzhinskiy and Narimanov into the Narimanov rayon; Mashtaginskiy and Azizbekov into the Azizbekov rayon; Nizam and Stalin into the Stalin rayon.

VVS. 17.12.59

Tadzhikistan

By decree of 14 October 1959 the Pendzhikent rayon soviet has been combined with the Pendzhikent town soviet to which have been subordinated the village soviets of Amondara, Koshtepa, Sudzhina, Chimbukurgan, Voru, Iory, Kolkhozchion, Magiyan, Kosatarosh, Shing, and im.Rudaki. The town of Pendzhikent has been included in the category of town of oblast subordination.

VVS. 29.10.59

By decree of 12 November 1959 the unnamed 6,852 metre peak of the southern spur of the Zaalayskiy khrebet has been named Moscow-Pekin. [Soviet and Chinese mountaineers recently made the first ascent. -Ed.] VVS. 3.12.59

Kirgizia

By decree of 26 November 1959 the Karakol' rayon has been re-named Przheval'sk, and the rayon centre moved from the village of Teploklyuchenka to the town of Przheval'sk. VVS. 3.12.59

Kazakhstan

By decree of 6 December 1959 the inhabited point at the construction site of the Chardara reservoir in the Keles rayon of the South-Kazakhstan oblast has been included in the category of workers' settlements and has been named Syr-Dar'inskiy. It has been subordinated to the Kirov rayon.

By decree of 12 October 1959 the town of Ust'-Kamenogorsk has been established as rayon centre of the Kirov rayon of the Vostochno-Kazakhstanskaya oblast. [Ust'-Kamenogorsk is given as the rayon centre of the Kirov rayon in SSSR: ADMINISTRATIVNO-TERRITORIAL'NOYE DELENIYE SOYUZNYKH RESPUBLIK, 1 January 1958, 9th edition, Moscow, 1958. -Ed.] VVS. 29.10.59

CONFERENCE

An All-Union coordinated conference of Turcologists was held in Ashkhabad from 19-22 October. Among the 200 taking part were linguists from the six Muslim republics of Soviet Asia as well as from Moscow and Leningrad. Daily reports of the conference appeared in TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA which also published a summary three weeks later above the signatures of N. Gadzhiyeva and F. Ashnin of the Institute of Linguistics of the AN/SSSR. The following is condensed from these reports.

The papers and the ensuing discussions provided a detailed analysis of the present position in the field of Turcology and outlined the main objectives for the future. E.V. Sevortyan, speaking on the first day of the conference, gave an account of achievements to date and stressed the need for scholarly work on the comparative phonetics and grammar of the Turkic languages and of the separate language groups within the Turkic family, and for the use of the comparative-historical method as being indispensable for reconstructing obsolete forms.

B.A. Serebrennikov, corresponding member of the AN/SSSR, spoke on the subject of the accumulated knowledge of scholars of Indo-European languages on comparative-historical linguistics, a subject, he asserted, for which Turcologists must adopt more up-to-date methods and make use of the experience of Indo-European linguists. This paper was followed by one from Z.B. Mukhamedova, corresponding member of the AN/Turk. SSR, who described the experience of producing essays on the history of the Turkmen language between the eighth and the eighteenth centuries, a task made difficult by the lack of ancient literary works which could be ascribed without hesitation to the Turkmen language. Mme. Mukhamedova was, however, able to tell the members of the conference that she had succeeded in giving a general outline of the history of the Turkmen literary language. Professor M.N. Khydyrov, of the Turkmen State University, spoke about a course on the history of the Turkmen language in which the main sources for study are literature, popular poetry, the data of dialects and related languages, and archaic forms. He particularly stressed the important place in such a study of popular destans (ballads) and the works of Makhtumkuli, Seidi and Molla Nepesa.

A.I. Iskakov, of the Institute of Language and Literature of the AN/Kaz. SSR, made several practical suggestions and was emphatic that the training of Turcologists should be improved. S. Akhally of the Turkmen Ministry of Education, devoted his lecture to the etymology of Turkmen words and affixes. Professor A.A. Demirchizade of the Institute of Language and Literature, AN/Az. SSR then spoke of the study of the history of Turkic languages in Azerbaydzhan, of the classification of Turkic languages and the formation of a literary language for national use (formirovaniye obshchenatsional'nogo i literaturnogo yazyka). He was especially critical of the classification of languages which he said was incomplete and sometimes had no definite scholarly basis. Another speaker, Professor Ye.I. Ubryatova of the Institute of Linguistics of the AN/SSSR, talked of the need for publishing historical studies of the Turkic languages taken individually, a comparative-historical grammar, etymological dictionaries and important works of literature. She denied that nothing had been done in these spheres; much had been done which remained unknown to scholars owing to the unsatisfactory state of publishing. Professor Ubryatova also spoke of historical research into the Yakut language. A. Dzhafera of the Institute of Language and Literature of the AN/Az. SSR was another speaker. He reproached dialectologists for giving in their works too few conclusions and generalizations which might be of use in studying the history of a language. He concluded by giving some interesting points of comparison between the Turkmen and Azerbaydzhani languages.

V.M. Nadelyayev of the Leningrad department of the Institute of Linguistics of the AN/SSSR discussed the dictionary of ancient Turkic languages now being prepared there. Work is expected to take four years and will cover the period up to the Mongol invasion. Professor N.A. Baskakov of the Institute of Linguistics of the AN/SSSR spoke against B.A. Serebrennikov's thesis, saying that methods suitable for studying western European languages should not be adopted mechanically for studying Turkic languages. Much of the summarized report in TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA was devoted, in fact, to this division of opinion, many of those taking part being reported as having supported Serebrennikov's point of view.

On the last day the conference unanimously passed a resolution which affirmed that the comparative-historical method was in practice the most useful one for studying various languages, among them the Turkic languages, but that it had important drawbacks. "The conference", write Gadzhiyeva and Ashnin, "stressed the need for strict observation of the principles of the comparative-historical method and for calculating the specific character of the Turkic languages."

TI. 21-4.10.59; 14.11.59

DELEGATIONS

A Government delegation from the Yemen led by Prince Saif ul-Islam Abd ar-Rahman, brother of the King of the Yemen and Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, arrived in Uzbekistan on 23 November. The delegation also visited Baku before leaving for Moscow on 28 November.

PV. 24, 27.11.59; BR. 27, 29.11.59

Sarvat Okasha, Minister of Culture and National Orientation of the Egyptian Region of the United Arab Republic, and a group from the Ministry spent three days in Tashkent in November on their way to Moscow.

PV. 29.11, 1.12.59

The Iraqi Minister of Education arrived in Tashkent on 2 October. A delegation from the Iraqi-Soviet Friendship Society arrived, also in Tashkent, on 10 November.

PV. 3.10, 11, 13.11.59

The chairman of the Indian Government Committee of the Press, Manohar Lal Bhardvaj, and a delegation from the Indian Association of Solidarity of the Countries of Asia and Africa visited Uzbekistan in October.

PV. 8, 13.10.59

An Afghan parliamentary delegation led by Mohammad Nowruz, president of the People's Council, stopped briefly in Tashkent on 4 November on their way to Moscow. On their return journey at the end

of November they stayed three days in Tadzhikistan and six in Uzbekistan.

The Afghan Minister of Social Works was also in Uzbekistan in November; he was shown the Great Fergana Canal and the Tuya-Buguz reservoir before leaving for Afghanistan on 12 November.

A delegation of leading Afghan journalists spent several days in Uzbekistan in November during their tour of the Soviet Union.

P.V. misc. dates 5.11.-1.12.59; KT. 22, 24.11.59

A trade delegation from the Sinkiang-Uygur Autonomous Region of China visited Kazakhstan and Kirgizia in October where, after discussions with trade associations, agreements were signed.

KP. 18.10.59; SK. 20, 25.10.59

TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATIONS

Azerbaijan

A new electrified branch of the Azerbaydzhan railway was opened on 6 November with trains running between Baglar and Bil'gya, a distance of 11 km. along the Caspian coast. BR. 7.11.59

In 1960 Ilyushin-18 turbo-jet liners will be flying along two new routes: Tashkent-Baku-Mineral'nyye Vody and Baku-Rostov-Kiyev-Leningrad. BR. 20.11.59

Uzbekistan

A 240 km. road from Tashkent to Kokand was opened to traffic on 26 November. It links the two towns via Angren and provides the fastest link between Tashkent and the Fergana Valley. PV. 18, 27.11.59

Work has begun on a new road from Takhta-Kupyr to sovkhos imeni Lenina in the Kara-Kalpak ASSR. PV. 27.12.59

Tadzhikistan

A road bridge over the Kafirnigan river was opened on 24 December. It replaces a ferry and pontoon bridge and greatly improves communications between the centre and the south of the republic.

KT. 26.12.59

A new road bridge was opened over the Dyushambe river in Stalinabad on 29 December. KP. 30.12.59

Kazakhstan

The railway lines between Kustanay and Tobol and between Tobol and Dzhatygara have been opened to continuous traffic. KP. 16.10., 31.12.59

A section of the new Central Siberian railway, that from Karasuk, Novosibirsk oblast, to Irtyshskaya, has been opened to working traffic. KP. 30.10.59

Construction has been completed on the 800 km. Alma-Ata - Frunze - Tashkent highway connecting the capitals of three republics. I. 21.10.59

The 200 km. road from Petropavlovsk to Mar'yevka is nearing completion. Main roads are being built in the Golodnaya Step', and hundreds of kilometres of hard surface roads have been built linking Kustanay with surrounding sovkhoses. KP. 20.10.59

An air route, from Alma-Ata to Moscow via Semipalatinsk and Omsk, was opened on 19 October 1959. Ilyushin-18s are the aircraft used, and there are special fast connections with Ust'-Kamenogorsk. KP. 18.10.59

THE BORDERLANDS OF SOVIET CENTRAL ASIA

The great increase in the amount of Soviet writing on the Borderlands of Soviet Central Asia requires a redefinition of aim and method to be followed in the Borderlands Series.

The present aim is to keep abreast as far as possible of current trends in Soviet writing on the countries contiguous or adjacent to the Muslim Union Republics of Central Asia. These countries fall into three categories:

- (a) Those immediately bordering on Soviet territory, i.e. Persia, Afghanistan and Sinkiang;
- (b) large countries close to but not actually bordering on Soviet territory, i.e. India and Pakistan; and
- (c) other countries close but not actually contiguous to the Soviet frontiers, i.e. Tibet, Nepal, Sikkim, and Bhutan.

All the relevant material actually received by CARC in the form of books and articles in periodicals is recorded in the Centre's Bibliography of Recent Soviet Source Material on Soviet Central Asia and the Borderlands. But the limited space available in Central Asian Review makes it imperative to restrict the extent to which this material is analysed and commented upon. Accordingly, in future the scope of the Borderlands Series will be confined to the following:

- (a) Persia, Afghanistan and Sinkiang. Soviet writing on all aspects of these countries will be analysed and commented on as far as possible. (Reviews of books appear in the series "The Muslim Republics of the USSR" published regularly in the Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society.)
- (b) India and Pakistan. Analyses of and commentary on material on (i) Russia's past and present political, cultural and economic relations with the Indian sub-continent as a whole;

- (ii) the history of the British period; and (iii) all aspects of Soviet writing on Pakistan, i.e. including Soviet commentary on Pakistan's internal affairs.
- (c) Tibet, Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan. No analysis of material on these countries will normally be undertaken. At present the amount of this material is very small but a watch will be kept on it in case circumstances should require it to be handled.
- (d) Reviews and Notices. Reviews or notices of important books on all the above areas except those mentioned in (a).
- (e) In place of the News Diary hitherto included in the Borderlands Section, there will be a short feature entitled "The Borderlands in the Soviet Press". This will indicate the trend of Soviet reporting on current developments.

The main change in the method outlined above is that in future no attempt will be made to treat Soviet writing on the internal affairs of India where these have no bearing on Soviet relations with those countries. This includes all material on internal, political and social problems, and on art, literature, archaeology and linguistics. The importance and interest of much of this material is recognized and it is much regretted that its treatment in the Borderlands Series is not at present practicable.

The present issue contains an up-to-date survey of Soviet writings published since January 1958 on Afghanistan, Persia, Sinkiang, Tibet, Nepal, and the aspects of India and Pakistan defined above. Future issues of CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW will deal in greater detail with such Soviet material on these countries as has appeared during the intervening period.

A F G H A N I S T A N

Early Russian travellers in Afghanistan - The origins of Russo-Afghan trade - Afghan-Manchu relations - Afghan history through Afghan eyes - First reforms in independent Afghanistan - Ethnography - Modern Afghan literature - Soviet-Afghan relations

An introduction to Soviet historical writing on Afghanistan was given in CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW, Vol.IV, No.2, pp.161-81. The general trend of such writing as outlined there, that "the villain of the piece is Britain and British imperialism" and that "the Tsarist government. . . had no evil designs on Afghanistan, whereas Britain's sole aim was to conquer Afghanistan, reduce her to a colony and thus penetrate into Russian Central Asia", has remained unchanged.

Of previous articles on Afghanistan which have appeared in CAR the most important are those on the Pakhtunistan question in Vol.IV, No.2, pp.187-92 and Vol.VII, No.3, pp.291-300. Other references will be found below.

An important Soviet symposium on Afghanistan, NEZAVISIMYY AFGANISTAN, which has only recently been received, will be reviewed in the next issue of CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW.

. . .

Early Russian travellers in Afghanistan

S. Nesterovich, in an article with the above title in ZVEZDA VOSTOKA, 1958, No.3, begins his survey with the visit to Balkh of Boris Pazukhin in 1644-50 and of Muhammad Isup Kasimov and Ivan Shapkin, members of the Russian embassy to Bukhara in 1675, who passed through Kabul on their way to India.

Of Vitkevich (1837-8) Nesterovich says that he was sent to oppose British economic and political penetration into Central Asia. He was well received by the Afghans and his mission "was crowned with success because he supported Dost Muhammad who had created a united,

independent state against the wishes of England".

Nesterovich admits that the diplomatic successes of Stoletov's mission (1878) were not great. However, the mission is said to have furthered Russo-Afghan friendship and to have proved to the Afghans that the Russian people was "noble, good and indulgent".

The aim of the article is to show the priority of Russia's relations with Afghanistan over those of any other Western country and also to imply that Russian interest in Afghanistan was dictated by the need to foil aggressive British intentions in Central Asia. (See CAR, Vol.IV, No.2, pp.161-81.)

The origins of Russo-Afghan trade

In an article entitled "From the History of Trade Relations between Afghanistan and Russia in the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century", PROBLEMY VOSTOKOVEDENIYA, 1959, No.1, Yu.V. Gankovskiy shows that trade also was an element in Russian interest in Afghanistan.

Russian merchants, Gankovskiy writes, began to trade with Afghanistan in the 1750s using Bukharan and Khivan merchants as middlemen. The trade was in cloth, indigo, lapis-lazuli, precious stones and gold coins from Afghanistan, and in manufactured goods such as pots, knives, needles, mirrors and spectacles from Russia. Russian goods, Gankovskiy asserts, were able to hold their own against the cheaper British goods (which were brought by the easy route up the Indus) because of their high quality.

Afghan-Manchu relations

In 1758 the Manchus conquered Sinkiang and expelled the Muslim rulers of Yarkand, Kashgar and Aqsu. It was considered in St. Petersburg that Ahmad Shah Durrani, the King of Afghanistan, might be considering coming to the aid of his co-religionists against the Manchus, and that if this were so it would be in the Russian interest to offer him discreet help. Consequently an emissary, Bogdan Aslanov, was sent in 1764 from Astrakhan to Afghanistan to discover Ahmad Shah's intentions and to request that an Afghan envoy be sent to St. Petersburg to make more precise arrangements.

Yu.V. Gankovskiy in "Bogdan Aslanov's Mission to Afghanistan in 1764", SOVETSKOYE VOSTOKOVEDENIYE, 1958, No.2, describes this mission, making use of unpublished material from the Russian foreign policy

archives.

In the event, Gankovskiy writes, when Aslanov arrived in Herat he found that Ahmad Shah was on campaign against the Sikhs. The Muslim rulers of Kashgar and Yarkand, far from receiving any aid, had been assassinated by Sultan Shah in Badakhshan (which was later to be conquered by Ahmad Shah). No one in Herat had any knowledge of a projected campaign against the Manchus. Aslanov, therefore, was unable to fulfil any of his instructions and returned home. Gankovskiy asserts, however, that Ahmad Shah would have advanced into East Turkestan had it not been for his lack of success against the Sikhs.

Afghan history through Afghan eyes

The Afghan historian Sayyid Kasem Rishtiya's book AFGHANISTAN IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY, Kabul, 1951, is reviewed by Yu.V. Gankovskiy in "A New Work on the History of Afghanistan in the Nineteenth Century" (KRATKIYE SOOBSHCHENIYA INSTITUTA VOSTOKOVEDENIYA, Vol. XXVIII, 1958).

Gankovskiy considers the work valuable not only because it contains many little-known facts but because it considers Afghan history in the light of events in surrounding countries and "reflects its author's patriotism and hostility to colonialism and the British invaders".

On the crucial question of the alleged Russian threat to India (see CAR, Vol.VI, No.2, pp.205-28) Gankovskiy gives the impression that Rishtiya agrees that, as such a campaign was beyond Russian resources, British apprehensions were merely a shield for such aggression as the First and Second Afghan Wars. He later rebukes Rishtiya, however, for contradicting himself by saying that the First Afghan War was caused by Britain's "desire to bar Russian movement towards India", while agreeing that such a movement was impossible. There need be no contradiction here, of course, since Rishtiya may have supposed that the British would be less well informed about the Russian ability to invade than the Russians themselves. Gankovskiy, like all other Soviet writers, scouts this possibility.

First reforms in independent Afghanistan

R.K. Urmanova describes and evaluates King Amanullah's first series of reforms in "The Reforms of the Afghan Government in 1919-1925" (IZVESTIYA AN/UZB. SSR, 1958, No.2). She makes use of official Afghan publications and treats the subject from a strictly Marxist

standpoint.

Afghan backwardness at the beginning of the twentieth century, Urmanova writes, was largely due to the country's semi-colonial dependence on Britain which had been established by the Second Afghan War. The Third Afghan War had won political independence. The aim of the reforms was to safeguard this independence by setting up a strong central government and to win economic independence also by reconstructing the economy.

A strong central government was rendered essential, Urmanova writes, by the threat from Britain who would not tolerate a free, independent Afghanistan (especially one friendly to Russia) on the north-west frontier of India. The establishment of such a government was supported, she adds, by a new class of landowner, men who had received their land as a reward for their services but whose authority in that land had no tribal sanction. Such men derived their authority from the government and the government's strength was theirs. Some sort of economic reform was supported by the new Afghan trading bourgeoisie who had found that all trade, both exterior and interior, was in the hands of Indians.

There follows a description of the chaotic Afghan economy and of the reforms adopted, which is omitted here. Urmanova considers that the reforms were progressive in spite of their effect on the peasant. Amanullah's substitution of taxes in money for taxes in kind, establishment of private property in land and sale of State lands led to the pauperization and ultimate expropriation of the free peasantry. Amanullah's reforms, she considers, expressed the interests of the landowners and bourgeoisie who were their chief supporters. They are said to be progressive, however, because they represented the stage of primary accumulation of capital which, wrote Marx, "is no more nor less than the historical process of separating the producer from the means of production".

(For the Soviet view of Amanullah's fall see CAR, Vol.IV, No.2, pp.177-81.)

Ethnography

S.I. Bruk, "The Ethnic Composition and Distribution of Population in the Countries of South-West Asia", TRUDY INST. ETNOGRAFII IM. MIKLUKHO-MAKLAYA, Vol.XXXIX (1958).

This article deals with the whole of South-West Asia and references to Afghanistan are scattered throughout. The author notes

that in countries where no census has been carried out (of which Afghanistan is one) the population data are approximate and are biased by attempts to show that the bulk of the population is nationally homogeneous. Bruk gives the population of Afghanistan as 12,000,000. Table 6 divides this figure into ethnographical groups (Semitic, Turkic, Iranian, etc.). These groups are then described in some detail in pp.93-107. Out of a bibliography of 84 titles, 11 (three of which are non-Russian) deal with Afghanistan. (See also CAR, Vol.IV, No.2, p.187.)

Modern Afghan literature

All the following articles except the last have two themes: to stress the aggressive policy of Britain towards Afghanistan and to contrast it with the disinterested friendship of Russia. This is done mainly by selection of examples.

For example N. Dvoryankov in "Molière in Kabul" (SOVREMENNY VOSTOK, 1958, No.3), a note on the newly-formed actors' school of the "Pokhyni Nyndare" theatre, director Muhammad Ali Rounak, mentions those plays in the school's repertoire which reflect the "national liberation struggle", and describes the admiration felt by Afghan student actors for Soviet actors.

T. Abayeva in "Afgan Folk-Literature" (ZV.VOS., 1958, No.10) devotes most of her article to the folklore of the First Afghan War and quotes verses on Shuja ul-Mulk which express the people's contempt for him as a British puppet. Abayeva also regards the Afghan-Indian (now Pakistani) frontier as an arbitrary one and describes how unity of folk-poetry was preserved on both sides of it by the powindah seasonal nomads who guarded the caravans which passed from India to Afghanistan.

N. Dvoryankov, again, in "The Folk-Poetry of Afghanistan" (SOVREM.VOS., 1959, No.2), a review of a volume of Pashtu couplets collected and translated into Persian and English by Abdurrauf Benava (Kabul, 1958), after a description of the couplet form and its subject matter quotes examples which illustrate the Afghan people's will to resist the British invader.

Only the last article, a review by A. Gerasimova of C.F. Girs' MODERN LITERARY PROSE IN PASHTU IN AFGHANISTAN, Moscow, 1958 devotes little space to British aggression.

Girs' book, which is the first Russian attempt to give a survey of Pashtu prose, ends in 1956. The author disputes his periodization

and calls his literary analysis weak. She also takes Girs to task for a too narrow definition of the term "educators" (prosvetiteli) as applied to Afghan writers. Girs applies this term to those writers of the fifties who see the root of all evil in the people's ignorance and hold that education will do away with all the troubles of Afghan society. Gerasimova, on the other hand, extends the term to include all writers who have taken active part in the "Active Youth" organization, i.e. Abdurrauf Benava, Nur Muhammad Taraki, Ghulam Hasan Sufi, etc., who want such things as the emancipation of women, the development of Afghan industry and the use of the wealth of the country for the benefit of its people.

Soviet-Afghan relations today

The tone of Soviet political writing on Afghanistan today is principally one of eulogy for Afghanistan's foreign policy and of self-congratulation on the Soviet Union's aid to Afghanistan and the satisfactory state of Soviet-Afghan friendship.

In INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, No.11 of 1958, L. Andrianov said that Afghanistan had rejected Baghdad Pact overtures for an alliance between Afghanistan and the Baghdad Pact powers: "The Soviet Union appreciates this attitude of the Afghan Government, which underscores Afghanistan's loyalty to the treaty of neutrality and non-aggression concluded by the USSR and that country more than 27 years ago." Similarly L.B. Teplinskiy in INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, No.6 of 1959, said that Afghanistan, "notwithstanding the pressure brought to bear by the United States and its satellites", had rejected proposals to join a suggested "union of Muslim countries", and had condemned the USA's own bilateral agreements with Pakistan, Persia and Turkey, as constituting a threat to peace in the Middle East and South-East Asia.

On the theme of Afghanistan's links with the USSR, Soviet writers claim that Afghanistan only won her independence in 1919 thanks to the Russian Revolution, which in the words of L.B. Teplinskiy "created a friendly Soviet state on the northern frontiers of Afghanistan". Soviet writers cite subsequent instances of Soviet friendship and aid for Afghanistan: the Soviet declaration of 27 May 1919 proclaiming unconditional recognition of Afghanistan's sovereign rights; the treaty of friendship between the two nations signed in Moscow on 28 February 1921 and subsequent treaties of 1926 and 1931; Soviet aid in the 1920s and 1930s, including laying a telephone line between Herat and Kandahar, construction of a power-station and a cotton ginnery in Herat and of ginneries in other parts of the country, and the construction of Kabul's first radio station; the

visit of Khrushchev and Bulganin to Kabul, and the signing on 18 December 1955 of a protocol extending the Soviet-Afghan treaty of 1931 until 1966; the signing of Soviet-Afghan agreements on 28 January and 1 March 1956 on a 30-year loan of 100m. dollars to Afghanistan for economic development, and on the construction of more than 15 major industrial projects; the visit of the Afghan Premier Sardar Muhammad Daud to the Soviet Union in October 1956, and the visit of the King of Afghanistan Muhammad Zahir Shah in July-August 1957; the visit of President Voroshilov to Afghanistan in October 1958; and the signing of a Soviet-Afghan trade agreement on 27 April 1959. A detailed survey of Russo-Afghan relations since 1919 is contributed by L.B. Teplinskiy to the symposium NEZAVISIMYY AFGANISTAN, Moscow, 1958, which will be reviewed in the next issue of CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW.

Soviet comment on internal developments in Afghanistan is entirely confined to the economic and social progress which may be expected from projects now under way and from the country's first five-year plan. It is difficult to find any reference to the political situation in the country. A guarded reference to political evolution appears in GOSUDARSTVENNIY STROY AFGANISTANA, by I. Aleksandrov and R. Akhramovich, Moscow, 1956. The authors say (p.45) that "despite their limited powers" local representative organs are gradually exerting more influence on State affairs; measures taken by the Government in this regard "show that the ruling circles cannot fail to take into account new trends in the country, but are furthering them only within such limits as will not affect the political and economic positions of the ruling classes". Evidently it is not Soviet policy at present to enlarge on this theme.

P E R S I A

A general introduction to Soviet writing on Persia was contained in CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW, Vol.IV, Nos.3 and 4. Other articles on historical subjects were published in CAR, Vol. VI, Nos. 3 and 4. The present article takes Soviet writing on Persia up to the early part of 1959.

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I. The Persian Economy - II. Persia's Relations with Foreign Countries - III. History - IV. Ethnography and Linguistics.

I. The Persian Economy

(See also CAR, Vol.IV, No.4, pp.405-17.)

As will be seen in later sections, Soviet writers attribute the backwardness of Persia's economy (of which they give an unrelievedly gloomy picture) and the misery of her people to a great extent to Persia's military alliances and to foreign exploitation of her natural resources. They do not exempt from blame, however, the feudal system which, they say, still exists in Persia.

A. Kostrov in "Tehran and the Persian Village" (SOVREMENNY VOSTOK, 1959, No.6) contrasts the outwardly prosperous Tehran both with its own working-class districts and with the peasantry of the surrounding countryside. Kostrov lays the poverty, ignorance and ill-health of the peasants at the door of the feudal system. The landowner, he says, is governed by no law in his relations with his peasants, frequently takes more than half their crop in rent and resists all attempts to better their lot. The present Government is incapable of changing this system because it is itself its product. Military expenditure connected with the Baghdad Pact, Kostrov adds, is making the situation worse.

An unsigned article in NEW TIMES, 1959, No.14, entitled "The Shah's Crooked Mirror", stresses the inability of the present Government to deal with the economic crisis. The Shah, the article notes,

had promised a "policy of social justice" and "a group of reform programmes". The Majlis debate on the 1959-60 Budget, however, had revealed a national debt of \$460m. and exorbitant military expenditure. Foreign loans were being "eaten up by foreign experts". All reforms were yet in the study stage.

Another unsigned note in NT, 1959, No.27, "Symptom and Diagnosis", reports from the newspaper OMID-E-IRAN the seizure by 2,000 peasants of uncultivated land outside Tehran and quotes the newspaper as saying that these disorders are caused by the feudal system which allows "one man [to own] 400 villages and another [to own] no land from which he could eke out a living".

The most considerable work on Persia's economic condition has been Sh.M. Badi's AGRARNIYYE OTNOSHENIYA V SOVREMENNOM IRANE, Moscow, 1959. Badi draws on many Persian and Western sources and gives a gloomy picture of the lot of the Persian peasant. He divides the peasantry into the normal Marxist categories of poor, middle and kulak and asserts that the middle peasants are gradually becoming ruined and swelling the ranks of the poor peasants.

As the harvest is sufficient to live on for six months only, Badi writes, the poor and middle peasants also are forced to borrow, usually from the local landowner or a kulak. The interest on such loans may be 25, 75, 100 or even 200 per cent. Even the State Bank lends to peasants at 24 per cent interest, while the Agricultural Bank, set up in 1930, makes only long-term loans on the security of land. It therefore rules out the majority of peasants who are landless.

Besides the burden of debt, Badi writes, there is the burden of taxes. Eighty per cent of Persia's taxes are paid by working people, while 89 per cent of the country's tax income is drawn from indirect taxation which affects the poor more than the rich. While the landowners use every change in the Land Tax Law as an excuse for increasing their peasants' rent, they themselves avoid paying taxes on their land.

Badi considers that foreign capital has made an alliance with Persian feudalism so that the democratic and national liberation movement consists in the people's battle against the imperialists and the feudal landlords. Badi gives as examples of imperialist interference the Morrison-Knudsen report and the Seven-Year Plan project. Overseas Consultants Ltd. who drew up the plan are, he asserts, closely connected with Standard Oil of New Jersey. On the plan's proposal that Persian agriculture should be mechanized Badi says that, as Persia has no heavy industry, this proposal would only increase her dependence on foreign capital, while the proposed "agricultural schools" are, he asserts, intended to propagandize the "American way

of life". The modernization of agriculture, he continues, is creating a new problem because it is driving peasants off the land and there is no industry to absorb them.

II. Persia's Relations with Foreign Countries

Russia and the USSR (See also CAR, Vol.IV, No.4, pp.396-8.)

As with India (q.v.) Soviet writers emphasize the mutual profitability of their trade with Persia. N.G. Kukanova ("The History of Russian-Persian Trade Connections in the 18th Century", KRATKIYE SOOBESHCHENIYA INSTITUTA VOSTOKOVEDENIYA, Vol.XXVI, 1958), points out that this trade was the main subject of diplomacy. It was important to the Tsarist Government because it promised a monopoly in the trade in raw silk between East and West and also because it brought in large profits in the shape of customs dues, and to the Persian Government because it both encouraged Persian crafts and financed the Shah's campaigns. A similar line is taken by the author of an unsigned article on "Soviet-Iranian Economic Relations" in NT, 1958, No.14, who points out the mutual profitability of the trade agreement of 16 April 1957, the traffic agreement of April 25 and the August 11 agreement on the development for irrigation and power of the Araxes and Atrek border rivers.

A short article (unsigned) appeared in SOVREM. VOS., 1958, No.5, on "The First Delegation of Persian Women in the Soviet Union". Sympathy was expressed with their ambition to abolish the Persian woman's legal position of inferiority. The delegates expressed themselves impressed by Soviet education and were quoted as saying that "the Tadzhik and Persian peoples have a common past. . . Ferdausi, Rudaki, etc., belong to both peoples".

The West (See also CAR, Vol.IV, No.4, pp.385-96, 407-8.)

Soviet writing on Persia's relations with the West concentrates on the activities of foreign oil companies on Persian soil and on Persia's military commitments both to Britain and to the USA. These two subjects are not kept separate since, although it is asserted that Persia is being made a base for aggression against the USSR, it is also considered that American installations in Persia are in addition safeguarding Western oil interests.

The British-Persian oil conflict of 1951-4 and the nationalization

of the Persian oil industry are of especial interest to Soviet writers, not only because they are seen as a stage in the Persian struggle for national liberation but because they betray (Soviet writers consider) Anglo-American "contradictions". This view is illustrated by I.I. Beglov's article "The Role of the American Oil Monopolies in the Development of the Anglo-Iranian Conflict of 1951-1954" (NOVAYA I NOVEYSHAYA ISTORIYA, 1958, No.3). Beglov describes economic competition between the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company (AIOC) and American companies, especially Aramco. Aramco suffered, Beglov considers, during 1949-51 through the British Government's policy of squeezing "dollar oil" out of the Commonwealth and the sterling zone, which was possible only because of AIOC's monopoly of Persian oil. The Anglo-Persian conflict, therefore, was profitable to Aramco, although Aramco did not provoke it (see above).

The American oil monopolies' plan, according to Beglov, had five stages: to use the conflict to abolish the AIOC's monopoly in Persia, to force the British to agree to share Persian oil with them, to force Persia to put the Persian oil industry under the management of an international company, to secure a governing position in this company for themselves and to prevent Persia from becoming an independent oil extractor and exporter.

The fifth stage was achieved by the appointment of General Zahedi, which is represented as a "coup" (povorot) organized by the USA. The British were forced to agree to all the other stages except the fourth by American threats that they would otherwise come to a separate agreement with the Persians. The fact that in the event AIOC and Royal Dutch Shell together received 54 per cent of the Consortium's shares (thus frustrating point 4 in the American plan) Beglov attributes to (imprecisely defined) considerations of foreign policy, such as "repercussions in the Middle East".

B. Dantsig in "The Oil Industries of the Countries of Asia and Africa in 1957" (SOVREM. VOS., 1958, No.6) makes some statements about the activities of the Consortium in Persia, including the usual charge that although the Consortium pays 50 per cent of the profits of the sale of oil to the Persian Government it in fact sells the oil at an artificially low price to its own founder-companies, so that the Persian Government gets no more than 25-30 per cent of the oil's genuine market value. On the agreement between Agip Mineraria and the Persian Government whereby the latter is to receive 75 per cent of any profits, Dantsig says that it "evoked a certain amount of dissatisfaction among the oil monopolies of Britain and the USA, who are afraid that the governments of other countries also could demand an increase in their share".

On this point, however, Dantsig does not go as far as N. Vasin in an article in *INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS*, 1958, No.5, entitled "Anti-State Plot". Vasin quotes *AL-MASA* (Egypt) and *PAESE SERA* (Italy) as saying that the Persian police had captured documents proving the involvement of certain American officials, including the Ambassador, Chapin, in an attempted coup d'état. The plan was, he asserts, to install as Prime Minister the Persian Ambassador to Washington, Amini. Vasin asserts that the "Western press" "[makes] no secret of the fact that Howard Page, President of Standard Oil of New Jersey, was one of the organizers of the plot. . ." The purpose of the alleged plot was to change the government and to abrogate the agreement between Persia and Agip Mineraria.

V. Yakubovskiy gives a grim picture of working conditions under the Consortium in "On the Consortium's Oilfields" (*SOVREM. VOS.*, 1958, No.10). The Consortium, he writes, is systematically locking out its workers. Since its creation 30,000 Persian oil workers have emigrated in search of work to Kuwait alone.

The weekly wage of a Persian oil worker, he writes, is often insufficient to buy a kilo of meat or two kilos of rice. A Persian engineer receives one-fifth the wage of his foreign assistant. The workers have sent a petition to the Shah complaining that the Consortium treats its workers worse than slaves.

In "A New Stage in the Battle for Persian Oil" (*SOVREM. VOS.*, 1958, No.7) L. Teplov describes the auctioning by the Persian Government of concessions in three possible oil-bearing regions outside the Consortium's territory. The competition was so fierce, he writes, that oil magnate Howard Page (see above) tried to bribe the managers of the National Iranian Oil Company with \$30m. to give a concession to the USA and break off the agreement with Agip Mineraria. On the failure of this attempt, Teplov writes, John Foster Dulles visited Persia to extract a guarantee that the USA would get a concession on its own terms in the first free oil prospecting region.

All this "diplomatic pressure" failed, writes Teplov, with the result that the Pan-American Petroleum and Transport Corporation only received a concession in return for an agreement to spend in Persia \$82m. over 12 years, to train Persians to take the place of its foreign employees, and to pay Persia a bonus of \$25m.

Soviet authorities are understandably sensitive about their border with Persia and a large part of their writings on Persia deals with her membership of military alliances, alleged American control of her armed forces etc. V. Viktorov in "A Harmful Policy" (*INT. AFF.*, 1958, No.12), comments on the significance of the visit to Persia of

US Defence Secretary General McElroy in October 1958. He makes allegations of American "infiltration" into the Persian armed forces, of the activities on the Soviet-Persian border of American spies disguised as tourists and of the construction of military bases and airfields. These aggressive preparations, he writes, can be aimed only against the USSR and constitute an infringement of the Soviet-Persian treaty of 1927. He further alleges that the Persian Government is acting against the wishes and interests of the Persian people "who from the bitter experience of Persia's membership of the Baghdad Pact know the price their country must pay for its participation in imperialist military alliances and blocs".

A number of articles deal with the dangers to Persia of an alliance with the USA ("The Real Issue", NT, 1958, No.46; "Sentinel of the Oil Monopolies", NT, 1958, No.50; "Iran and Global Strategy" by G. Starko, NT, 1958, No.52; "What is the Real Danger?" NT, 1959, No.4). The theme of all these articles is that since Persia is surrounded by friendly or neutral states she has no need of a defensive military pact. The pact must, therefore, be offensive in intention. Granted that Persia may not intend the pact to be turned against the USSR, will she be able to prevent the USA from so using it? To place one's territory at the disposal of a power "which is frantically searching for allies in a war against [the USSR]" can only be viewed as a hostile act and cannot avoid having a deleterious effect on Soviet-Persian relations. Persia should not forget that in any war she would be among the first countries to be destroyed. In addition the military alliance will make her a vassal of American imperialism and deprive her of control over her own affairs and economy.

These accusations and warnings were redoubled when Persia broke off negotiations for a treaty of friendship and non-aggression with the USSR, and Persia was in addition accused of bad faith in negotiating both with the USA and with the USSR "as a form of re-insurance" ("False and Dangerous Game", NT, 1959, No.8). M. Ivanov in "Along What Path is Persia Travelling?" (MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA I MEZHDUNARODNYYE OTNOSHENIYA, 1959, No.2) accused the Persian Government of needing foreign military aid in order to repress popular dissatisfaction within Persia. (For a fuller treatment of this article see THE MIZAN NEWSLETTER, 1959, No.3, p.4.) V. Fuzeyev in an article entitled "In American Harness" (INT. AFF., 1959, No.3) accused the Shah of having been influenced by foreign statesmen to reject the Soviet treaty (Mr. Macmillan, Celal Bayar of Turkey and President Ayub Khan of Pakistan were mentioned), and of having yielded to a personal message from President Eisenhower in which the President "insisted" that he should reject the Russian proposals. Fuzeyev also alleges that the Persian-American treaty has a secret supplement whereby the USA is allowed to station troops in the Persian

Gulf area and build missile bases in the Zagros Mountains.

V. Viktorov in "Why Evil Times have Fallen" (INT. AFF., 1959, No.9) asserts that Persia's economic crisis has been caused by militarization. He notes that the second Seven-Year Plan allots 12,720m. rials to airfields and communications and only 11,696m. rials to agriculture. American military loans and credits, he asserts, are veiled forms of the country's enslavement by American monopoly capital. The present policy of the Persian Government, he says, leads to higher direct and indirect taxation and a rising cost of living.

An interesting article on the alleged American infiltration into the Persian armed forces and gendarmerie appeared in PROBLEMY VOSTOKOV DENIYA, 1959, No.3 - L.I. Mel'nikov's "The Military Union of Persian Reaction with American Imperialism". The villains of the piece are the American military advisers who were invited to reorganize the Persian gendarmerie in 1942 by the then Prime Minister Qavam-as-Saltaneh. The control of the gendarmerie was taken over by Col. Schwartzkopf, Mel'nikov says, and under his command they crushed the democratic movement in Persian Azarbaijan and supported "the reactionary, dictatorial regime set up by Shah Muhammad Reza Pahlavi".

Of the Military Mission Agreement between the USA and Persia (6 October 1947) Mel'nikov says that "the American military advisers were in fact given unlimited opportunities of establishing control over the Persian armed forces". In support of this he quotes Article 8 (which defines the duties of the Mission as advising and assisting the Ministry of War and its departments and the subordinate sections of the General Staff with respect to plans, organization, administration and training) and that part of Article 12 which authorizes members of the Mission "to visit and inspect any part of the Iranian military establishment", including "plans, records, reports and correspondence as required". In his footnote he refers to these quotations as being from Articles 8, 9 and 12 of the Agreement. In fact, however, he does not quote Article 9 which states: "Members of the Mission will assume neither command nor staff responsibility in the Iranian Army. . ." American officers, Mel'nikov states, are to be found at all levels of the Ministry of Defence and the armed forces.

Mel'nikov asserts that the reason why no Persian Government has tried to put an end to the missions is that they see in army and gendarmerie their chief weapon against the democratic forces in the country. Desire to repress these forces has brought them into alliance with the USA and forced them to sell their country's sovereignty.

III. History

(See also CAR, Vol.IV, No.3, pp.288-317; Vol.VI, No.3, pp.347-56; Vol.VI, No.4, pp.432-47.)

Both the works to be dealt with concern the influence on Persia of Russian revolutions. G.P. Akopov in "The Influence of the 1905-1907 Revolution in Turkmenia on the Revolutionary Movement of the Persian People" (TRUDY INSTITUTA ISTORII, ARKHEOLOGII I ETNOGRAFII AN/TURK. SSR, 1958, Vol.IV), is concerned to prove that the customary view that the Persian revolution influenced the revolution in Turkmenia is wrong and that in fact the revolution in Turkmenia influenced the revolution in Persia.

Turkmenia, he points out, had a developing capitalist economy. Modern industries and communications were being built. The new working-class was being influenced by Russian revolutionaries. Such trading centres as Ashkhabad drew North Persia into their orbit.

As such trade (which was considerable) was carried out mainly by Persian entrepreneurs, Akopov writes, there grew up small colonies of Persian merchants in Turkmenia. These groups were mainly disposed against the revolutionaries. There were other Persians in Turkmenia also, seasonal workers who had crossed over from Persia in search of work. Their political consciousness was at first low, writes Akopov, but Turkmenia was a "school of revolutionary struggle" for them.

The Persian working-class was so small in numbers, however, Akopov considers, that it did not play a leading role in the Persian revolution. This role was played by the bourgeoisie. Here also, Akopov writes, the influence of the Russian revolution can be traced. The Persian Consulate at Ashkhabad formed an anjuman (council) of the Persian intelligentsia and bourgeoisie of the town. These people fell under the influence of anarchist Social Revolutionaries and it is to this that Akopov attributes such terrorist acts as the assassination of Atabek-Azim in 1907 and the attempted assassination of the Shah in 1908.

M.N. Ivanova's OKTYABR'SKAYA REVOLYUTSIYA I IRAN, Moscow, 1958, gives a brief account of events from 1917 to the present day, approximately two-thirds of the book being devoted to the period up to 1921. In her first two chapters she contrasts Persia's relations with Britain with her relations with the USSR. Britain, she says, in effect took over the central government both to hinder the spread of revolution from the USSR into Persia and to organize intervention into the USSR; the agreement of 1919, which put the control of the

Persian economy and army into British hands, was signed after Vosuq-od-Douleh, Nosret-od-Douleh and Sarem-od-Douleh had received a bribe of £130,000.

The British, she asserts, ruined Persia's economy by cutting off her natural export outlet to the USSR and by flooding her with cheap colonial goods. During 1918-21 Britain pumped £200m. in gold out of Persia and at the same time furthered the interests of the AIOC, which ultimately became a state within a state.

In Chapter II, however, Ivanova describes "the friendly acts of the young Soviet State towards Persia". In 1917 the USSR annulled all the inequitable treaties and agreements concluded by the Tsarist Government with or concerning Persia. A note of 16 January 1918 annulled all agreements which threatened Persia's independence, including the Anglo-Russian Agreement of 1907. A further note (26 July 1919) renounced all the concessions and privileges in Persia acquired by the Tsarist Government. In fact Ivanova emphasizes the "disinterested friendship" of the USSR for Persia.

In 1921, Ivanova writes, the British decided to abandon the 1919 Treaty but to put in a puppet government which should oppose the regularization of Soviet-Persian relations. This government was that of Sayyed Ziauddin. Sayyed Ziauddin's annulment of the 1919 Treaty, arrest of feudal landowners and exaction from them of a levy of 60m. tomans, and promises of reform were merely gestures to win popular support. The fact that Ziauddin in fact concluded a Soviet-Persian Treaty she explains by references to the international situation and to feeling within Persia.

In her description of the 1921 Soviet-Persian Treaty, Ivanova lists the Russian concessions to Persia but omits to mention the exchange of notes of 12 December or the Soviet evacuation of Gilan. The delay in ratifying the treaty is attributed to the reactionary policy of the governments of Sayyed Ziauddin and Qavam-as-Saltaneh.

IV. Ethnography and Linguistics

(See also CAR, Vol.IV, No.4, pp.417-20;
Vol.VII, No.2, pp.175-201.)

M.S. Ivanov's "The Qashqai Tribes of Iran" (SOVETSKAYA ETNOGRAFIYA, 1958, No.6) is a review of M.T. Ullens de Schooten's book LORDS OF THE MOUNTAINS; SOUTH PERSIA AND THE KASHKAI (QASHQAI) TRIBE (London,

1956), interspersed with Ivanov's own comments from his personal experience. Besides ethnographical information the article contains information on recent history - the pro-German policy of the Qashqai khans during the war and their employment to curb or crush workers' movements in 1946 and 1953. Ivanov criticizes de Schooten for throwing no light on "social contradictions" within the tribe and for idealizing the present state of affairs, especially the rule of Naser Khan. He considers, however, that the book contains interesting and useful information.

G.M. Petrov's "The Davi Language in Modern Persia" (SOV. VOS., 1958, No.2) is a short note on information contained in Vol.VII of the PERSIAN GEOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY, Tehran, 1951, on Davi speakers in the Shahrestan region of Lar and Bushire. Petrov points out the importance of studying the grammar, phonetics and vocabulary of this language in view of the discussion which has lasted for many years on the significance of the medieval term davi and the relation between Davi and Persian.

V. Literature

(See also CAR, Vol.VII, No.1, pp.74-83.)

D.S. Komissarov, "The Realist Tendency in Modern Persian Literature", SOV. VOS., 1958, No.3.

Komissarov considers that an original realist tendency can be seen in Persian literature, in spite of the deleterious effect of Western literature on some writers. Realism in Persian literature means (in the words of Jamal-zadeh) "not diverging too far from truth and reality in the representation of phenomena and the explanation of circumstances". The same writer also recommended that "the writer should come into close daily contact with the people". This realism, writes Komissarov, shows itself in unmasking what is reactionary (as in Partan Azam's THE CROOKED PINE, Abbas Haidari's THE SILKWORM and even in the at first sight unrealistic and allegorical CHINESE NIGHTMARES of E. Afshin), and in affirmation of what is progressive, for example the worker in Sadeq Hedayat's TOMORROW.

There have, however, Komissarov writes, been instances of "naturalism" which either concentrate on detail at the expense of the picture as a whole (for example Jamal-zadeh's POLITICIAN, where individual incidents of a mass movement are shown with brilliant mastery, but the movement as a whole escapes), or give "not types but portraits"

(for example Bozorg Alavi's HER EYES, where the progressive and noble hero is saddled with a timid and weak character). Also, Komissarov notes, the work of individual writers is not consistent; so Sadeq Hedayat has written realistic, impressionist, decadent and even mystical works.

Komissarov praises the evolution in Persian poetry of "free metre", first used by Nima Yushij, as a style which aims at subordinating form to content. It has been adopted, he says, by many poets, but it is too soon to say what progress it will make.

Komissarov concludes with a historical survey. Realism in Persian literature, he says, was born after the revolution of 1906-11 and developed in dependence on historical events. It slackened in the 'thirties, revived again in the 'forties and is losing ground in the 'fifties to "primitive didacticism" and mysticism. However, history can only slow down its development, not stop it altogether.

S I N K I A N G

The principal articles on Sinkiang which have been published in previous issues of CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW will be found in Vol.IV, No.4; Vol.V, No.2; Vol.VI, Nos.1 and 3, and Vol.VII, No.1.

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History - Agriculture - Ethnography and Anthropology - General

History

All the articles mentioned in this section appeared in UCHENYYE ZAPISKI INSTITUTA VOSTOKOVEDENIYA, Vol.XVI, 1958.

An article by M. Shushanlo on the Dungan risings and migrations into Russia at the end of the nineteenth century was published in an abridged form in CAR, Vol.VI, No.3, pp.264-71. G.M. Ibragimova's "A Short Description of some Sources on the Manchu Conquests of Sinkiang" concentrates on the Uygur-Dungan risings of 1864-78. Her estimate of the nature of the risings does not differ from that of Shushanlo. They were, she asserts, not religious in character but were caused by class differences and by the exploitation of the Dungan peasants both by their own feudal leaders and by the Manchu functionaries. Ibragimova has to admit, however, that in some cases feudal leaders led the rising, but she feels certain that their leadership must have been half-hearted.

Her first source is a MS. by one Muhammad Alam, "The History of Kashgar", written in 1894. Alam regarded the conflict as a religious one of Muslim against Buddhist and considered the Muslim feudal leaders to be its mainspring. Ibragimova writes that the battle may have been carried on "under the slogan of Islam against Buddhism" but was in content a "heroic war of liberation". In spite of this basic fault in interpretation the MS. has value, Ibragimova considers, because it gives a true picture of the facts from which we can make our own conclusions. For example, Alam relates how the leader of the rising, Habibullah, asked the Khan of Kokand for arms to suppress minor feudal leaders who were fighting amongst themselves and ruining

the country. About this event Ibragimova writes: "Alam, it is true, did not understand that Habibullah was afraid not of the feudal leaders but of the peasants [who had risen against the Manchus]. We, however, . . . by reading his MS. can come to this conclusion for ourselves." She also writes that Alam "shows clearly how the English bourgeoisie used feudal enmities in Sinkiang to enslave the country" but gives only one example - the sending of one Zakri-Ishan by Kashmiri feudal leaders to Khotan to overthrow Abdurrahman, one of the leaders of the rising, and seize power. Ibragimova sees the hand of Britain in this because "India was then completely under the influence of England who wanted to seize China also through the hands of Indian feudal leaders."

Ibragimova next gives short but not very informative notes on the writings of Mulla Bilal and MSS. Nos. B418 and D124 in the Institute of Oriental Studies of the AN/SSSR and of some Chinese sources.

A point of interest arises when she comes to deal with V.P. Vasil'yev's article "Chinese are New Russian Subjects", VOSTOCHNOYE OBOZRENIYE, 1894, No.2, where Vasil'yev says that the Russian forces who occupied the Ili valley area in 1871 "came not as conquerors but as liberators from tyranny". Ibragimova points out that although the occupation was progressive in that it, at least temporarily, improved conditions for the peasants, nevertheless it was an act of colonialism.

Russian acts of colonialism in Central Asia are usually justified on the grounds that (a) they brought the peoples of Central Asia into contact with the Russian people and (b) they enabled the peoples of Central Asia to participate in the October Revolution. It would be perfectly logical to argue from this that the Russians ought to have stayed in the Ili area and brought the benefits of revolution to the country 32 years before they in fact arrived. But China is a Communist state and naturally questions of past Russo-Chinese "contradictions" in Central Asia are not pressed.

D. Tikhonov in "Taxes and Tax Terms in the Uygur State (Ninth-Fourteenth Centuries)" aims at determining the types of land tax in use in the Uygur state as a preliminary stage in determining the character of land rent. The correlation between land rent and tax is established by Marx's dictum that where the state is the landlord there is no difference between rents and taxes. Tikhonov approaches the problem by studying the various uses of tax terms in original texts. He deals with the following terms: kupchur, kalan, alban, yasak, salig, tutun, bert, kaylalik, ur, basyk, kurut, sakin, kap, boz, tuntsui and kabas.

(Tikhonov's "Some Problems of the Interior Policy of Yakub Bek" was summarized in CAR, Vol.VII, No.4.)

Agriculture

An account of the importance of the Chinese Army in the economic life of Sinkiang was given in CAR, Vol.V, No.2, pp.145-52. Sabit Mukanov, the Kazakh poet and novelist, in an article entitled "A Trip to China" in SOVETSKIY KAZAKHSTAN, 1959, No.2, gives details of two collective farms founded and worked by soldiers.

The Victory farm near Aqsu was founded by the 5th Division in 1954 when 10,000 former soldiers worked on it. This number has now grown to 30,000. In order to irrigate 1,200,000 mu* of waterless land a 100 km. canal was dug from the Aqsu river together with 1,000 km. of irrigation ditches. As no Chinese machines able to do this type of work then existed Russian machines were used.

In	1954	the	ploughed	area	was	3,000	ha.
"	1955	"	"	"	"	10,000	"
"	1956	"	"	"	"	16,000	"

The Shikhotsze farm between Urumchi and Kulja was founded by the 8th Division. It covers the same area and has the same number of workers as the Victory. Mukanov gives no details or statistics but describes the well-built houses with running water and sanitation, the gardens with fountains, clubs, schools, sports facilities, hotel, etc., where three years previously there had been a barren desert.

T.R. Rakhimov in "Successes in Solving the National Problem in the CPR", PROBLEMY VOSTOKOVEDENIYA, 1959, No.4, quotes the Chairman of the Sinkiang People's Committee, Sayfuddin Azizov, as giving the following data on the growth of agricultural production: in 1958 the irrigated area surpassed the total for the first Five-Year Plan by 6,610,000 mu, i.e. by 30 per cent. The gross grain harvest reached 200m. puds*, i.e. 57 per cent more than in 1957. Grain production per head of population in 1958 totalled 546.5 kgm., as against 223 kgm. in 1949.

* 15 mu = 1 ha.; 62.5 puds = 1 metric ton

Ethnography and Anthropology

An article by L.V. Oshanin, "The Anthropological Composition of the Population of Sinkiang and the Ethnogenesis of the Uygur People", appeared in TRUDY IN-TA ISTORII AN/KIRG. SSR, 1959, vyp.5. Oshanin gives population figures for the peoples of Sinkiang, but unfortunately quotes them from the GREAT SOVIET ENCYCLOPAEDIA, Vol.39, 1956 (article: "The Sinkiang Uygur Autonomous Region") in spite of G.P. Serdyuchenko's criticisms and corrections of those figures in "The Classification of the Peoples and Languages of China", SOVETSKOYE VOSTOKOVEDENIYE, 1957, No.4, which were summarized in CAR, Vol.VI, No.1, pp.78-80.

On the question of Uygur migrations from Sinkiang to Russian Turkestan Oshanin adds little to S.I. Bruk, "The Ethnic Composition and Distribution of Population in the Sinkiang Uygur Autonomous Region of the CPR", SOVETSKAYA ETNOGRAFIYA, 1956, No.2 (see CAR, Vol. IV, No.4, pp.433-4). After the Manchu conquest (c.1760) in order to replace the original Uygur population of the Ili valley, which had been almost completely destroyed during the conquest, the Chinese repopulated the area with Kashgari Uygurs from the cities of Kuchi, Uch-Turfan, Aqsu, Kashgar, Yarkand, Khotan, Nii and Kerii. Uygurs migrated to Russian Turkestan both from Dzhungaria and from Kashgaria because of Manchu oppression.

In ancient times, Oshanin argues, the population of Sinkiang was European in type and Iranian in language while the modern Uygurs are Turkic in language (although still predominantly European in type). However, as the Uygur race was formed in Mongolia it was presumably not only Turkic in language but Mongoloid in type. Oshanin therefore argues that as the Uygurs moved south they gradually assimilated the original population, replacing their language but only slightly affecting their features. He supports this thesis with 15 pages of anthropological measurements. There is a bibliography of 45 titles. (On the ethnography of Sinkiang see also CAR, Vol.VII, No.1, pp.84-92.)

General

S. Mashurov in an article entitled "Among our Friends", PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN' KAZAKHSTANA, 1959, No.9, reviews Kh. Abdullin's book on his visit to Sinkiang, ON THE ROADS OF SINKIANG. The book shows the benefits brought to Sinkiang and its Muslim inhabitants by Communism. Mashurov praises Abdullin for describing how the Uygurs' national songs and dances are flourishing as never before and for drawing attention, during his description of the kariz (a system of wells joined by underground canals), to the sufferings of the

peasants who had to build them "beaten by the whips of bays and sultans". "Now", the reviewer adds, "[the Uygur people] live freely and happily in the fraternal family of the peoples of multi-national People's China."

Abdullin, however, is criticized for giving an inadequate account of economic and cultural growth, the agricultural collectives and the role of the Party. "Reading the brochure", comments the reviewer, "you do not feel the heroism, the ferment with which the life of the liberated people is now filled."

Abdullin's conclusion that modern Uygur literature is in the process of formation meets with Mashurov's approval. Mashurov, however, does not like his further conclusion that Uygur literature will be able to reflect the "great social battle of the people" only when "the people of Sinkiang are able to write novels, trilogies, epics," but not at present.

T H E I N D I A N S U B - C O N T I N E N T

A general survey of Soviet writing on the Indian sub-continent up to the end of 1957 appeared in CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW, Vol.V, Nos.1-4. Other articles on India and Pakistan appeared in Vol. VI, Nos. 1, 2 and 4 and in Vol.VII, No.3. The present article deals with Soviet writing up to the beginning of 1959.

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I. Russo-Indian Relations - II. The History of the British Period in India - III. The Mutiny - IV. The Mutiny to the Twentieth Century - V. The Twentieth Century - VI. Constitutional Reforms - VII. The Communal Problem - VIII. Partition - IX. Kashmir.

I. Russo-Indian Relations

Historical*

A review of K.S. Menon's THE "RUSSIAN BOGEY" AND BRITISH AGGRESSION IN INDIA AND BEYOND by S.M. Mirnyy appeared in SOVETSKOYE VOSTOKOVEDENIYE, 1958, No.6. Mirnyy quotes with approval Menon's argument, which was as follows: since in fact Russia was physically incapable of invading India, and since some highly-placed Englishmen, such as Lord Salisbury and Lord Northbrook, knew this, it follows that the "Russian bogey" was pure invention intended to cover British aggression in Central Asia. This conclusion is backed up by quotations from Englishmen who wanted to invade Central Asia and drive the Russians back to the Caspian. The main threat to British rule in India, Menon says, lay within India itself.

* For an abridged translation of O.F. Solov'yev's "Tsarist Russia's Attitude to India in the Nineteenth and Beginning of the Twentieth Centuries" (VOPROSY ISTORII, 1958, No.6) see CAR, Vol.VI, No.4, pp.448-64. The historical portions of the present article naturally deal with Pakistan as well as India. Material specifically on Pakistan will be reviewed in the next issue of CAR.

Mirnyy also approves of Menon's assertion that the British feared the appeal of Tsarism to the Indians as being "in historical perspective more reasonable" than British rule in India. The Russians, he asserts, treated their Muslims more justly and provided more positions of trust for natives - allowing Muslims to hold commissioned rank in the Russian army, for example. The latter half of this argument (which was also reported by Minayev in 1880, see p. 97) may be true. The "historical perspectives" of Tsarism, however (by which is presumably meant its overthrow by revolution in 1917), can have been visible to very few in the second half of the nineteenth century.

RUSSKO-INDIYSKIYE OTNOSHENIYA V XVII VEKE, Moscow, 1958, is a collection of documents compiled by T.D. Lavrentsova, R.V. Ovchinnikov and V.N. Shumilov and edited by K.A. Antonova, N.M. Gol'dberg and T.D. Lavrentsova. It is the first such collection covering the seventeenth century to contain approximately everything on the subject which has been discovered in the archives of the USSR.

The book's 260 documents comprise imperial charters regulating Russian relations with the East (including India), instructions to Russian officials and merchants setting out for the East, petitions, ambassadors' reports, customs records, etc. They throw light on the role of Punjabi and Marwari merchants as middlemen between the Russian and Far Eastern markets, on Indian settlements in Russia and on the "systematic attempts of the Tsarist Government in the seventeenth century to establish political and economic relations with India, to make use of Indian technical experience and to attract Indian craftsmen to Russia". The material is therefore of interest to students not only of Russian history but of Indian and eastern history generally in the seventeenth century.

The book is illustrated with replicas of some documents and equipped with a list of archaic terms and their meanings, indexes of geographical and proper names, and a list of all the documents with short notes on their contents. Documents in eastern languages are given in text and translation.

Besides its importance as a historical source-book this volume is valuable also as an indication of the high place occupied by Indian studies in Soviet oriental studies and of the impressive efforts which are being made.

P.M. Kemp's BHARAT - RUS, Delhi, 1958 (a book in English on Russian-Indian relations from medieval times to 1917 published by the Indian-Soviet Cultural Society), makes use of printed sources and documents. The above collection, however, contains many more

documents than were available to P.M. Kemp.

Contemporary

There have been few articles on Soviet non-economic aid to India or on Soviet-Indian cultural contacts. M. Matveyev in a short article in NEW TIMES, 1958, No.33, "Soviet Doctors in India", describes the work of the research and practical centre of the Soviet Alliance of the Red Cross and Red Crescent in Delhi of which he is the director. The account is factual and care is taken not to offend Indian sensibilities by suggesting that all the credit for the centre's work is due to Russians.

Two articles relate to cultural contacts. The first, "The Soviet Book in India" by V. Zhitnikova (SOVREMENNY VOSTOK, 1958, No. 9), gives an indication of the scope of translation of Russian books into English and the languages of India and mentions a mobile exhibition of Soviet books which travels from city to city. The second, "The Russian Language in India" by P. Barannikov (SOVREM. VOS., 1959, No.7), gives a factual account of the growth of interest in the Russian language in India. Previously, Barannikov says, Russian was inaccessible to the majority of Indians "in a country under British rule". Having stressed the importance of Russian as a scientific language Barannikov lists the places where it is taught (Delhi, Bombay, Calcutta, Hyderabad, Cawnpore, Aligarh, Allahabad and Gaziabad) and reveals that the publication in Moscow of Russian-Hindi and Hindi-Russian dictionaries has been followed by the production of Russian grammars in Hindi.

The bulk of Soviet writing on Soviet-Indian relations is devoted to economic relations. Soviet-Indian trade is justified by Soviet writers on the hard-headed grounds that it is mutually profitable. In M. Kocharyan's article on "Soviet-Indian Economic Collaboration" (SOVREM. VOS., 1959, No.7) Khrushchev is quoted as saying "we are not distributing charity". Here again an attempt is being made to avoid hurting Indian sensibilities. Another reason is given for Soviet aid to India in an unsigned article "Sound Basis" in NEW TIMES, 1959, No.10, on the visit to India of a Soviet governmental delegation led by A.A. Andreyev. Here it is emphasized that Soviet-Indian friendship rests on India's foreign policy: India shares with the USSR "a common desire to promote universal peace". Consequently, the article states, the USSR is interested in building up India's national economy in order to strengthen her international position.

Although Soviet writers admit the profit motive in Soviet

economic relations with India, they do not admit any similarity to the trade and aid of the Western powers. The difference is that Soviet trade and aid is profitable to both parties.

In a general article entitled "Soviet-Indian Economic Relations" in the symposium NEZAVISIMAYA INDIYA, Moscow, 1958, A.A. Kutsenkov brings out this point. Soviet-Indian economic ties, he says, are a continuation of the traditional friendship of the Russian and Indian peoples made stronger by India's peace-loving foreign policy since 1947. The USSR, asserts Kutsenkov, is unlike capitalist countries in that it is not interested in exploiting the people of India. Economic relations between India and Britain are still regarded as "imperialist" because India is still a "dumping ground for surplus produce", most of which she does not need. The USSR, on the contrary, sells India only what is necessary for her expanding economy. The activities of "British and American monopolies" in India Kutsenkov describes as follows: when buying raw materials they artificially lowered the price by temporarily stopping purchases; buying the raw materials at these artificially low prices they made huge profits, because they sold their manufactured goods in India at artificially high prices. Kutsenkov adds that in so far as India depends on Western countries for equipment, raw materials and technical aid this process of exploitation continues. In this connection again Soviet trade is profitable because it breaks the Western monopoly in India.

Kutsenkov goes on to describe Soviet technical aid to India, especially in oil prospecting which, he says, the British had not carried on because they wished to preserve India as a market for Middle Eastern oil. He also contrasts the 2.5 per cent interest rate on Soviet long-term credits for the Bhilai steel works with that of 7.5 per cent on the British credits for the Durgapur works.

S.A. Mikoyan in a review of NEZAVISIMAYA INDIYA in SOV. VOS., 1958, No.6, criticizes Kutsenkov for not bringing out the point that Soviet credits to India are advantageous not only in themselves but because they force capitalist countries to offer similar terms and so give India a double advantage.

In an article in VNESHNYAYA TORGOVLYA, 1959, No.2, entitled "An Important Stage in the Development of Soviet-Indian Economic Relations", G. Velikiy, writing about the Soviet-Indian Trade Agreement of 16 November 1958, besides producing all the arguments given above, points out that the agreement is beneficial to India because: (a) it provides for a "clearing system" and thus involves no expenditure of Indian foreign currency, and (b) it guarantees India both an export market and a source of necessary imports and thus protects her against the instability of the capitalist world market. Velikiy is

careful, however, to add the benefits (in the shape of necessary imports) which the USSR also derives from the agreement.

Finally there is a descriptive article on the Bhilai steel works ("India's Future", K. Perevoshchinov, SOVREM. VOS., 1959, No.4). This article emphasizes the great rise in the standard of living of the local population brought about by the construction of the works, the service done by the USSR in training Indian technicians (Soviet engineers, Perevoshchinov says, are unlike capitalist engineers in that they share both their experience and their technical "secrets" with their Indian subordinates, whether employed in the public or private sector); and lastly "the spirit of Bhilai", i.e. the good relations between Soviet and Indian personnel who not only work together, Perevoshchinov says, but live together like friends and brothers. In this, he goes on, the Russians are very unlike their supercilious Western counterparts at Rourkela (West Germans) and Durgapur (British). These good relations are all the more remarkable, he remarks, in view of the fact that the concept of "foreigner" was associated in the Indian mind with those of "invader", "colonizer" and "boss" and that the Russians had first to break down this barrier.

II. The History of the British Period in India

The Conquest

A recent book on the conquest has been K.A. Antonova's ANGLIYSKOYE ZAVOYEYANIYE INDII V 18-OM STOLETII, Moscow, 1958. Since the book is too large to be reviewed in full, Antonova's opinions on some points of interest are set out below.

Antonova stresses the contribution made by the plunder of Bengal to the British Industrial Revolution. The riches of Bengal gave a new impetus to the process of capital accumulation in Britain. In this respect Britain was in striking contrast with India, where the feudal system was not yet played out. Antonova supports this statement by pointing to the resilience of the Maratha dynasty which swiftly recovered from its defeat by the Afghans at Panipat in 1761, and to the rise, as a result of the temporary weakness of the Marathas, of the Mysore feudal dynasty in the south. This strength she attributes to the high productivity of agriculture aided by irrigation. Since almost all the produce went to the feudal rulers the agrarian system remained stable; the feudal rulers had no reason to want to change it and the peasants were incapable of doing so. Nevertheless, Antonova adds, the growth of the bondage of peasants and craftsmen to moneylenders and middlemen and a certain weakening of the caste system proves that India had begun to develop towards capitalism.

The development, however, was too slow to prevent Britain's victory.

When the interests of the factory owners came to predominate over those of the traders in Britain, and consequently in India, Antonova writes, India came to be regarded as a market for British manufactured goods and as a source of raw materials. "England's tariff policy was consciously directed at increasing the imports of British goods into India and reducing Indian exports to Britain" and thus led to the ruin of Indian workers and craftsmen.

In order to make Indian raw materials accessible railways were built. This led to the growth of capitalist industry. The development of Indian industry, however, was deliberately restrained by Britain in order to prevent India from becoming economically independent. Thus the Indian proletariat suffered all the disadvantages of the capitalist system with none of its advantages.

In a review of Antonova's book in PROB. VOS., 1959, No.3, N.M. Gol'dberg notes that Antonova disagrees with Reysner who held that on the eve of the conquest feudalism in India had begun to decay. Gol'dberg himself takes no sides and merely says that the problem has been insufficiently investigated.

Gol'dberg's main point of criticism of Antonova is that she has ignored certain developments within the Sikh, Maratha and Mysore States which had weakened the Mughul yoke and changed the balance of social forces in favour of the peasantry (Gol'dberg describes Sivaji of Maharashtra as "the leader of the Maratha peasantry"). These developments were: in the Sikh State, an anti-feudal and a liberation movement; in the Maratha State, a liberation movement; and in the Mysore State, an anti-feudal movement. These movements had strengthened the body politic of these states and enable them to put up a stiffer resistance to the British. Bengal, Gol'dberg points out, where there has been no such movement, fell an easy prey to the invaders.

This thesis does not seem to correspond with N.I. Semenova's estimate of the position within the Sikh state before the conquest given in GOSUDARSTVO SIKKHOV, Moscow, 1958.

Semenova draws the usual picture of disintegration and intrigue after Ranjit Singh's death and of the growing power of the army. The army she describes as a patriotic body composed of Sikh peasants in uniform and containing anti-feudal elements. For this reason, and because the army panchayats had in fact taken over control of the state, the feudal leaders wanted to weaken the army by sending it against the British. In this Semenova agrees with Western authorities. She goes

further, however, by asserting that the Sikh leaders brought about the First Sikh War in collusion with the British. The final crossing of the Sutlej by the Sikh army is represented as a "defensive measure" forced on the Sikhs after the British had fired on an inoffensive detachment which had crossed the Sutlej but which had already agreed to go back again.

In her description of the First Sikh War Semenova makes the most of the valour of the Sikh soldiers who, she alleges, were defeated more because of the treachery of their leaders than through any military virtues in their opponents.

The Multan rising which led to the Second Sikh War Semenova represents as having been fomented by the British; for example Captain Abbot is said to have set the Muslim population of Hazara against their Sikh ruler Chattar Singh. The Second Sikh War itself is described from the same point of view as the first.

From Semenova's picture of the Sikh state at the moment of conquest, therefore, it would be possible to argue that the anti-feudal struggle in fact weakened the body politic.

The Punjab land settlement which secured the sardars' estates and recognized the peasant as the owner of the land is represented by Semenova as a mere attempt to win support. Meanwhile, she says, the province was adapted to the needs of colonial plunder and was turned into a market for British goods and a source of raw material for British industry by the introduction of new crops, such as cotton and wheat, together with tax concessions to encourage their cultivation and by the irrigation of deserts. In order to disenchant any reader to whom these measures might at first sight seem progressive, Semenova adds that the first years of British rule in the Punjab brought increased taxes, ruin and pauperization because the attempt to encourage the production of export crops was too successful. The local markets were flooded and, the transport system proving incapable of carrying the produce elsewhere, prices fell and the peasants were forced to borrow in order to pay even the reduced taxes.

E.N. Komarov ("The Land-Tax Policy of the Colonial Powers and the Development of Agrarian Relations in the North-West Provinces of India in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century", *INDIYA: STAT'I PO ISTOR-II*, Moscow, 1959) considers that discontent among the peasants caused by their exploitation by the East India Company provided the main dynamic of the Mutiny. Komarov's long and detailed account deals with the nature of this exploitation. The following is a summary of his article.

At the turn of the eighteenth century the principal method of Colonial exploitation was high taxation, mainly affecting the peasantry. With the growth of industrial capital in Britain in the second decade of the nineteenth century new methods of exploitation appeared. India became a source of raw material and a market for manufactured goods. This second stage led to a change in the British agrarian policy, to the development of private property in land and to the expropriation of the peasant. (Although the peasant had been suffering expropriation during the first period also this was not natural, that is the result of the primary accumulation of capital, but artificial - the result of high taxation.)

In his description of the first stage of British exploitation Komarov gives the usual examples - the expropriation of peasants by zamindars, tax-farmers, the use of torture as a means of collecting taxes, the increase of 43 per cent in taxation between 1807 and 1818 and the consequent destruction of productive forces leading to the famines of 1803-4, 1812-13 and 1825.

Even the second stage, however, Komarov writes, led to no relief for the peasants, for the British tried to raise taxes also as a means of paying for the exploiting of the country by British capital (i.e. of paying for roads, railways and irrigation). The tax settlement of 1833 was based on over-assessment and led to further expropriation of the peasantry, while the reduction in the assessment made in 1855 mainly benefited the large landowners who had replaced the rural communes.

A general article by I.M. Reysner in NEZAVISIMAYA INDIYA, Moscow, 1958, covers "The Basic Stages of the Battle for Freedom of the Peoples of India from the Beginning of the British Conquest to 1947". Rather than split Reysner's article up between the various periods into which this paper is divided it has been decided to include it in full here (except for the period of the Second World War and after, on which he adds little to other accounts).

Reysner says little about the conquest. Suraj-ud-Dowleh, Nana Farnavis, Hyder Ali, Tipu Sultan and Ranjit Singh are regarded as "prominent Indian leaders who tried to unite the country and repel the foreign invaders". Reysner considers, however, that unity was impossible because there was no economic unity and perhaps no national consciousness either except in Maharashtra and Mysore.

The Mutiny, which affected as well as feudal leaders and sepoys "the broad masses of the peasants and craftsmen of North and Central India", was the result, Reysner considers, of a temporary alliance brought about by a common hatred of the British between elements which were separated by national, religious and class differences. The unreliability of its feudal leaders, the disunity of India which allowed the British to use Sikhs and Gurkhas and the sepoys of Madras and Bombay against the Mutineers, and finally the rebels' lack of national consciousness and of democratic ideas which could have "joined and cemented the popular forces", brought about the failure of the Mutiny.

On the question of the Indian bourgeoisie Reysner breaks with past Soviet historians who had concentrated on the "contradictions" between the Indian bourgeoisie and the Indian masses while ignoring the "contradictions" between the Indian bourgeoisie and the colonial régime. The Indian bourgeoisie, he says, "while defending in its own interests the independent economic, political and cultural development of India, could not avoid making democratic demands for the liquidation of national oppression, racial discrimination and the despotic government of the British bureaucracy, and it thus played a progressive role in the liberation movement. It was for this very reason that the people supported the Indian bourgeoisie." Although the National Congress was at the beginning "subjectively loyal" to the British the essence of its demands was "objectively revolutionary".

At its foundation the Congress had no appeal to the masses and was aimed rather at influencing public opinion in Britain. The workers, craftsmen and "advanced peasants", Reysner writes, were first united with the Indian bourgeoisie under the influence of the Russian revolution of 1905-7. Their leadership, however, was divided. Reysner considers that the moderates lost popular support by their policy of collaboration with the authorities, while the extremists, led by Tilak, mistakenly made no attempt to organize the proletariat and even antagonized the people by their policy of terrorism.

Congress, led by Gandhi, finally became a mass party under the influence of the October Revolution and the 1919 Amritsar massacre. Civil disobedience's mass quality paralysed government; but on the other hand Reysner considers that the limitation of the campaign to non-violent means hindered the awakening of class-consciousness among workers and peasants. However, he writes, by 1928 both worker-peasant parties and Communist groups existed, the latter uniting to form the Communist Party of India "by the 1930s". [Reysner here postdates the formation of the CPI which R. Palme Dutt shows in INDIA TODAY to have been in existence in 1921. -Ed. CAR.]

III. The Mutiny

(See also CAR, Vol.V, No.1, pp.78-79.)

Reysner (op.cit.) gives a general assessment of the Mutiny and Komarov (op.cit.) deals with agrarian discontent in the North-West Provinces as one of its causes. There are only two articles on the Mutiny itself.

M.I. Semenova in "The Punjab during the People's Rising in India, 1857-1859" (INDIYA: STAT'I PO ISTORII, Moscow, 1959), notes the importance of the province to the British who had to be prepared to deal with four possibilities: a revolt of the frontier tribes, Afghan intervention, a Sikh revolt and finally a sepoy mutiny. She understandably makes more of the local disorders than is normal with British historians. She admits, however, that the Punjabi peasantry, far from sympathizing with the sepoys, often hated them as an army of occupation. Also the Sikhs had no reason to desire the restoration of the Mughuls which was the mutineers' proclaimed aim.

Semenova gives the following further reasons why there was no rebellion in the Punjab:

- (1) The transformation of the Punjab into a market and source of raw materials for British industry was only beginning.
- (2) Although a high money rent had been introduced, the agricultural commune (obshchina) had been preserved, commune-members had retained their land, certain leaseholders had been given a protected rent and leaseholders of commune land were allowed to continue paying rent in kind. This, together with the tax reductions of the late 'fifties, restrained the peasantry. (See also Semenova's GOSUDARSTVO SIKKHOV, above.)
- (3) The peasants were unarmed.
- (4) The simplifications of the tariff system had promoted trade and won over the traders.
- (5) The British had strong allies in the Jagirdars and the Pathan khans.

British and Indian historians frequently concur in the view that the success of the Mutiny would have been a step backward in India's development as it would have re-established feudal rule. L.R. Polon-

skaya takes issue with this view in "The Social and Political Views of Fazl Haqq" (SOV. VOS., 1958, No.1).

Fazl Haqq was one of the "feudal intelligentsia" whose activities, Polonskaya writes, "objectively" reflected the people's desire for freedom from foreign rule and for national consolidation and thus had immense progressive significance. After the beginning of the Mutiny at Meerut Fazl Haqq went to Delhi where he became a member of the Padishah's Durbar. He was arrested in 1859, tried and sentenced to death. The sentence was commuted to one of life imprisonment and he died in 1870 on the Andaman Islands. Polonskaya quotes in her article from two books on the Mutiny which Fazl Haqq wrote during his imprisonment.

Fazl Haqq's view of the British, as given by Polonskaya, was that they had ruined India's economy and wanted to replace Islam and Hinduism with their own faith.

On the question of Fazl Haqq's opinion of the Mughuls Polonskaya does not deny that he envisaged the restoration of Mughul rule after the Mutiny. She quotes his writings to prove that he "finally understood the inability of the feudal rulers to head the fight against the British". She does not consider what his opinions might have been had the Mutiny succeeded.

However, the "progressiveness" or otherwise of Fazl Haqq's views in themselves is irrelevant from Polonskaya's point of view. They were "objectively" progressive because they favoured India's national independence, which was a first condition for the development of new social-economic relations in India, including the development of capitalism. Even if the Mutiny had succeeded and had been followed by a strong feudal state, it would have been a "progressive" development because the subsequent "anti-feudal battle" would have taken place in conditions far more favourable to the Indian people than in the event. Foreign rule, Polonskaya writes, although it brought some elements of bourgeois development was finally a bar to progress and conserved the most repulsive survivals of feudalism as essential to the existence of colonialism.

IV. The Mutiny to the Twentieth Century

(See also CAR, Vol.V, No.4, pp.410-19.)

Economic

(Both articles in this section are from INDIYA: OCHERKI EKONOMICHESKOY ISTORII, Moscow, 1958.)

S.A. Kuz'min in his article "The System of Land Tenure and the Land Tax Policy of the British Colonial Administration in Sind in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century", has set himself the task of showing why the British in Sind during the first 30 years after the conquest (1843-73) to a certain extent disregarded the interests of colonial plunder. He explains this by Sind's strategic importance as a place d'armes for the further assimilation of north-west India and the Tribal Belt.

The zamindari land settlements in Bengal and elsewhere, Kuz'min writes, had alienated the peasants by depriving them of the ownership of the land in favour of the former tax-farmers, the zamindars, while the ryotwari system applied in Madras and the Bombay Presidency had alienated the jagirdars by bringing them down to the level of simple peasants vis-à-vis the East India Company. In the north of India the alienated classes had opposed the British during the Mutiny. The British policy in Sind, therefore, was to avoid alienating any section of the population by preserving the status quo. Since in Sind the land was owned by zamindars, who paid rent to jagirdars who in turn paid it to the ultimate landowner, the State, the British based their policy on a recognition of the existing rights of the zamindars and jagirdars. They thus, at the cost of a certain loss of revenue, made these classes their allies in further aggression.

By the 'seventies, however, the British position in India was firm and the colonial exploitation of Sind could begin. This exploitation took the familiar form (see above) of transforming Sind into a source of cheap agricultural raw material, a market for British goods and a sphere for the application of British capital. For these purposes, writes Kuz'min, the British found small and medium sized holdings more profitable.

"The agrarian legislation of the colonial powers in Sind," Kuz'min concludes, "was. . . one of the component parts of the policy of the British colonizers which had as its aim the enslavement and imperialist exploitation of India."

L.I. Reysner in "The Role of the Workshop in the Development of Certain Branches of Factory Industry in the United Provinces of India at the End of the Nineteenth and First Half of the Twentieth Centuries", deals with the influence of British industry on Indian industry.

Not all branches of the United Provinces' domestic industry, he writes, were completely destroyed in the course of India's transformation into a dumping ground for British goods. Some, such as the industries of glass making and the production of sugar, were allowed to change over to factory production methods because they did not directly compete with British industry. At the turn of the century and even earlier some domestic industries in the United Provinces had attained the level of capitalist production, with its characteristics of division of labour, mass production and the concentration of power in the hands of large producers. These branches of industry were only one step from the factory system.

The development of factory production, writes Reysner, received no support from the colonial powers and had to compete with foreign manufactured goods. Consequently development took place most swiftly during periods when India was less inundated with cheap western goods - during and immediately after the First World War and during the slump.

The example of the United Provinces, concludes Reysner, proves that not all branches of Indian industry were brought into the country by the West. Some of them grew out of local domestic industries. The rule of British capital could not prevent this development. Nevertheless India's colonial position retarded this development by comparison with other, non-colonial, countries.

Political

An interesting document was published in PROBLEMY VOSTOKOV DENIYA, 1959, No.3, "A New Document by I.P. Minayev on India in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century". This is the first publication of Minayev's description of his visit to India in 1880 which was recently discovered in the USSR's Central State Archives of Military History.

Minayev found India disturbed. Indian belief in British invincibility had been shaken by the Afghan War and Indians had been irritated by the Arms Act, the abolition of the import duty on foreign cotton goods and the Licence Tax. Minayev writes that the Indians had not only come to believe British outcries about the Russian threat but had begun to prefer the Russians to the British as

being less tyrannical. Minayev also mentions the grievances of the peasants, including the 3.1/2 per cent salt tax. The upper classes of Indian society, he says, resented the cost to India of British rule, the salaries and pensions of Indian Civil Servants, the interest on railway loans, etc., and the impoverishment of their native art and culture.

The population of the principalities, Minayev wrote, especially the Brahmins, considered that their princes were being taught by their British tutors and Residents nothing but "manly sports" and to despise their religion and the ways of their people.

On Britain's side, however, Minayev noted that India was ethnographically, religiously and socially divided, that there were strong British forces in the States, that the most discontented section of the populace, the peasants, were unarmed and without leaders and would not rise spontaneously, while the intelligentsia would be satisfied with compromise. He therefore concluded that the British could secure their position by making concessions to "that part of Indian society which, while it does not like the British, admits that their dominion is for the time being essential for India", i.e. the intelligentsia.

V. The Twentieth Century

Soviet writers find the phenomenon of the Indian Army puzzling. As if unwilling to believe that a predominantly native army could remain loyal in a country which they habitually represent as seething with discontent and perpetually on the point of revolution they normally write not of the Indian Army but of the "Anglo-Indian Forces", giving the impression that both British and Indian units were part of one and the same organization in which the proportion of British to Indian soldiers was at the least one to three, rising at times to one to two. They also make the most of any incidents of unsteadiness or disloyalty in Indian units. In this connection A.V. Raykov's "The Anglo-Indian Army and the National Liberation Movement in India, 1905-1907" in PROB. VOS., 1959, No.2 (which, although it mentions the "Anglo-Indian Army", in fact deals only with Indian units) contains some interesting details from the confidential letters of Russian consuls in India.

Raykov describes the agitation among the Indian soldiers, who were "dissatisfied with the colonial regime" because of discrimination, low pay and bad food and treatment, which was carried out by Congress extremists who had chosen the false path of conspiracy and terror instead of trying to organize the masses. Raykov attributes to

this agitation seven incidents between 1907 and 1915.

1907: A soldier of the 89th Punjabis was court-martialled for an anti-British speech. Sikhs refused to fire on Punjabi peasants in Lahore and Rawalpindi.

1914: The 5th Light Infantry Regiment mutinied in Singapore on receiving orders to go to the European theatre of war. There was an attempted mutiny in Lahore.

1915: Courts-martial were held in several regiments in connection with attempted mutinies in Ferozpur, Lahore and Meerut.

The Russian Consul-General, Nabokov, reported that among the British of Rawalpindi there was fear of a mutiny in the Indian Army.

The most important incident reported by Raykov, however, took place in 1909 when a conspiracy was discovered in the 10th Jat Regiment in Calcutta. The Russian Consul in Calcutta, Arsen'yev, wrote first that 35 sepoys had been arrested. In a later letter, however, he wrote that the number involved was unknown and gave the following details: the 10th Jats had been detailed for guard duty at a Christmas ball to be given at the Residence of the Governor of Bengal, at which the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief were to be present. The conspirators had plotted to blow up the ball-room. They were betrayed and the regiment was immediately transferred to Hyderabad. All details of the conspiracy were suppressed.

Raykov admits that the nationalists were not very successful with the Indian Army, and gives as the reasons the superior strength of the British and their cunning in being able to use caste, religious and national differences within the Army in order to keep it under control.

T.F. Devyatkina, in "The Workers' Movement in India, 1918-1922" (INDIYA: STAT'I PO ISTORII, Moscow, 1959 - see also I.M. Reysner's article above), writes that it was during this period that the Indian working class, though few in numbers, showed itself to be one of the most progressive forces in India's social life. It differed from the other classes of Indian society both in its demands and in its method of battle - the strike. This method it contributed to the general anti-imperialist movement.

During the 1920s the demands of the Indian trade unions were mainly economic, but their battle was interwoven with the anti-imperialist battle of the bourgeoisie and intelligentsia. Politically the working-class followed Congress.

Congress, however, alleges Devyatkina, wanted only to use the workers' strikes, not to make them an integral part of the anti-imperialist battle. The independent political action of the workers of Bombay in 1921 in connection with the Prince of Wales' visit alarmed the Congress leaders. The development of the workers' interests showed the need for a working-class party. Such a party began with the organization of Communist groups in the 1920s. [Devyatkina, like I.M. Reysner, differs from R. Palme Dutt about the date of the foundation of the Communist Party of India. See I.M. Reysner's article above. -Ed.]

The most important recent Soviet book on the history of India has been NOVEYSHAYA ISTORIYA INDII, Moscow, 1959, which covers the period from 1917 to the present day. The book is illustrated and contains an extensive bibliography and indexes of geographical and proper names. Its great length (759 pages) makes it impossible to do it full justice here. The treatment given by the various authors to some subjects of interest is summarized in Chapters VI-VIII below.

VI. Constitutional Reforms

All constitutional reforms are regarded as having been wrung out of a reluctant British Government by the national liberation movement and as being concealed attempts at preserving the essence of British rule in India while changing its appearance.

So T.F. Devyatkina, writing in Section I about the Government of India Act of 1919, says that its main aim was to preserve the rule of British imperialism in India. Of the "diarchy" she says: "This deliberately confused system. . . in essence deprived the newly created organs of any chance of effective action." She draws attention also to the small electorate, the supreme power of the Viceroy and Governors and the irresponsibility of the executive. V.V. Balabushevich (Section II) writes that the Act "gave the upper layers of Indian society the most insignificant concessions, including the right to participate in the solution of second-class local problems," but was "used to strengthen British rule in the country".

A.M. Mel'nikov (Section IV) writing about the Act of 1935 says that the federal scheme "strengthened the union of the British ruling circles and the Indian feudal reaction" and "made it possible to make even wider use of the reactionary feudal forces in the battle against the national liberation movement". On the other hand he notes that the Princes and landowners were afraid that the federal scheme would make possible the development of certain democratic freedoms in British India which might then spread to the States.

On the question of Congress Ministries after the election of 1937 Mel'nikov simplifies the issue. In fact Congress authorized Congress Ministries only where they were assured that "the Governor will not use his special powers of interference or set aside the office of Ministers in regard to their constitutional activities" (All-India Congress Committee resolution of March 1937). The deadlock was resolved by the Viceroy's declaration of 22 June that all Governors would be anxious "not merely not to provoke conflicts with their Ministers. . . but to leave nothing undone to avoid or resolve such conflicts". Congress accepted office on this understanding while recognizing that the Viceroy's declaration "fell short of the assurances demanded". On the subject of the Viceroy's declaration Mel'nikov writes simply: "In these circumstances [a growing wave of strikes and peasant unrest] the British ruling circles were forced to yield to the National Congress, i.e. to agree not to resort to the Provincial Governors' special powers." He also asserts that in the interim the British had tried to form non-Congress Governments "relying on reactionaries, yes-men and bourgeois-landlord organizations." Such Governments were those of Fazl-ul Huq in Bengal and of Sikandar Hayat Khan in the Punjab.

A.M. D'yakov (Section VI) writes of the Pethwick-Lawrence Mission that while in India it did its best "through its network of agents (agentura) in the leadership of the Muslim League. . . [to prevent] Congress and the League reaching agreement on the future Constitution". He represents the liberty to be given to the Provinces to form subordinate unions as a firm proposition that there should be such unions, and states that this is a concealed form of partition. [D'yakov does not deny that it was in the Congress that dissatisfaction with the Pethwick-Lawrence plan was to be found. The question therefore arises, what did the Mission's "agents" in the League accomplish? D'yakov presumably means that the "British agents" induced the League to reject the plan after Congress had accepted it. -Ed.]

VII. The Communal Problem

(See also CAR, Vol.V, No.2, pp.186-94.)

Soviet writers consider that there was no communal problem in India except when the British provoked it as part of their "divide and rule" tactics. T.F. Devyatkina (Section I) writes that although the Khilafat Movement of the 1920s included Muslims of all classes the majority of them were not interested in religious questions and even thought that the movement was named after the Urdu word khilaf ("against") and was directed against British rule in India. He maintains that the Muslim League at this time, and until the late 1930s, played an insignificant role in political life, the majority of Muslims following Congress.

V.V. Balabushevich (Section II) admits that there was some Muslim disenchantment with Congress leadership after the breakdown of the civil disobedience campaign, which enabled the British to provoke communal clashes. As a result organizations appeared aimed at converting Muslims to Hinduism and Hindus to Islam. The Muslim League is represented as an extremist organization analogous to the "Hindu chauvinists" of the Hindu Mahasabha. "The broad masses - Hindus and Muslims - had little interest in these quarrels."

In the period 1928-33 (Section III) L.R. Gordon-Polonskaya considers that although there were "contradictions" between the British and the Muslim landowners and bourgeoisie, which found expression in the League's refusal to collaborate with the Simon Commission, yet "that which united [them] was stronger than that which held them apart. With the support of the most reactionary Muslim circles the British colonizers managed even to give an anti-Hindu direction to the activity of independent Muslim groups within the national bourgeoisie." This led to the breakdown of the attempts of Congress to find a common platform with the League.

Up to 1937, A.M. Mel'nikov writes (Section IV, 1934-39), neither the League nor the Hindu Mahasabha had any mass following. After the election, however, the British wanted to split the anti-imperialist movement into Hindu and Muslim parts and the activities of the League and the Hindu Mahasabha made this easy for them.

In spite of the growth of anti-imperialist feeling among the Muslims, writes Mel'nikov, the League managed to increase its numbers by recruiting petty-bourgeois Muslims in the towns, and used their anti-imperialist feelings for its own purposes. "While carrying on a policy of intensifying Hindu-Muslim discord the British imperialists

laid the responsibility for this discord exclusively on the Indians. At the same time they made the future status of India depend entirely on the solution of the communal problems."

Hindu-Muslim riots are represented in all cases as having been provoked by the British by means of their mysterious agentura. Cases where the police took sides or did nothing are pointed out as proofs. The possibility that the police themselves might have religious allegiances is not considered. A.M. D'yakov (Section VI) alleges that the use by the Calcutta rioters in 1946 of service fire-arms "witnesses to the fact that the police and armed forces supplied them with weapons from military arsenals."

VIII. Partition

(See also CAR, Vol.V, No.2, pp.194-204.)

As has been seen, the whole communal question is regarded by Soviet writers as a part of the British imperial policy of "divide and rule"; and it is maintained that Britain supported the Muslim League against Congress, which in turn involved support of the League's demand for Pakistan. The British supported Pakistan also because they hoped to use it as a military base in the future, and because the consequent Pakistani - Indian discord would enable them to pose as an "impartial arbiter" and "preserve the possibility of interfering in the political life of India" (A.M. D'yakov, Section VI).

On the problem of the States no mention seems to be made of Mountbatten's strong suggestion that they should join one or the other of the new Dominions. D'yakov, however, asserts that the door was left open for them to retain their former relations with Britain. "This was no accident. The British imperialists counted on turning certain of the States into bases within the new Dominions." Yu.P. Nasenko (Section VII) takes the same view and writes that the British hoped that the States would remain linked to Britain. The British supported the Nizam of Hyderabad, he says, because they "wanted to create a military base [there]".

IX. Kashmir

Soviet writing on Kashmir is still concerned mainly with the India-Pakistan dispute, in which the USSR supports India. The two articles to be dealt with add nothing to Y.Popov's "Kashmir - Artificial Issues" in NEW TIMES, 1957, No.10 and A.M. D'yakov's book INDIYA VO VREMYA I

POSLE VTOROY MIROVOY VOYNY, Moscow, 1952, which were analysed and discussed in CAR, Vol.V, No.3, pp.286-9. S. Mikoyan and L. Moskalenko in their article "The State of Jammu and Kashmir" in SOVREMENNY VOSTOK, 1958, No.6, like the earlier writers assert that the conflict grew out of British and American desire that Kashmir should join Pakistan, which was more subject to their influence than India. The invasion of tribesmen from Pakistan was organized by British and American officers in an attempt to force the issue. At this "pressure of public opinion" forced the Maharaja to appeal to India for help and to declare Kashmir part of India. No mention is made either of the fact that the Maharaja was a Hindu while three quarters of the population of Kashmir is Muslim, or of the promised plebiscite. The authors write that the partition of Kashmir along the cease-fire line has been preserved in spite of the determination of the people expressed by their representatives to remain in India. Failure in the talks between Pakistan and India on the future status of Kashmir is laid at the door of Pakistan and of America which has drawn Pakistan "into [its] system of military blocs which are following an aggressive course".

O. Grinyov in an article in INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, 1958, No.12 entitled "Who wants an International Police Force?" states that agitation for international police forces only begins when "armed aggression by the USA or some other Western Power, encountering stubborn popular resistance, suffers inevitable and complete defeat and its sponsors increasingly lose prestige and become internationally isolated." Kashmir "is India's internal affair and can and should be settled by her alone". To send even an international police force to Kashmir would only be a manoeuvre by some Western Powers to fan hostility between India and Pakistan and to exert pressure on Nehru.

Kashmiri Literature

A short article on this subject by U. Rustamov appeared in ZVEZDA VOSTOKA, 1958, No.10 - an issue devoted entirely to the Tashkent Afro-Asian Writers' Conference. Rustamov starts with a short sketch of Kashmir's ancient culture and literature and mentions the role played by British scholars in the study of Kashmiri.

Rustamov is mainly concerned with poetry of social criticism whose origin he traces to the beginning of the twentieth century "under the influence of the national liberation movement in the East". Three poets of this type are given special mention - Ghulam Ahmad Mahjur (1888-1952), Abdul Ahad Dar Azad (1902-48) and Dind Nath Nadim (1916-).

Mahjur, Rustamov writes, sang of the liberation of man, of the brotherhood of peoples in general and of those of India and Pakistan in particular. During the disturbances of 1931 he took a revolutionary and patriotic line. Dar Azad is stated to have become during the 'thirties and 'forties "the standard bearer of social and political revolution" and to have raised his voice against religious fanaticism. Nadim's poetry was rescued from mysticism by the national liberation movement in Kashmir. He now supports Kashmiri political independence and a radical land reform.

N E P A L

There has been little Soviet writing on Nepal and what there is seems to draw exclusively on printed sources. None of the work under review gives the impression of being based on personal observation.

The most important work published during the period under consideration (1958-9) has been I. Red'ko's NEPAL, Tashkent, 1958, which draws largely on the press of India and on books by British and Nepali writers. The British books, Red'ko asserts, are written with the intention of disguising the character of Britain's colonial policy in Nepal, while the Nepali writers, although they give a true picture of Nepal's battle against colonialism, express the interests of the bourgeoisie and the young national intelligentsia.

Red'ko says that the British, in the person of the East India Company, were at first interested in Nepal only because it had trade links both with India and Tibet, and the Company hoped to use Nepal as a stepping-stone towards trade with Tibet. Desire for Tibetan trade grew with the financial crisis of 1770 brought on by the Bengal famine, and the first official mission was sent to Tibet in 1774. The 1792 trade agreement with Nepal and the attempted agreement of 1801 are both to be interpreted in this light.

Nepal showed resistance and the war of 1814 was fought to force her to submit. The border incidents were mere excuses. Red'ko explains the high degree of independence granted Nepal by the Treaty of Segauli by asserting that the Company, which had been able to conquer India because it was divided, could not conquer a united Nepal.

Unable to gain its ends by conquest the Company resorted to intrigue and supported the Rana clan against the anti-British statesman of the time, Thapa Bhim Sen. Jang Bahadur Rana was a British puppet.

Nepali support of the Company in the Sikh wars and the Mutiny gave the British the idea of using Nepal as a source of cannon-fodder for her colonial wars while governing the country through the Ranas. The recruitment of Gurkha soldiers was arranged by a deal which "secured a supply of cannon-fodder for the English colonial armies and unbounded exploitation of the masses by a handful of Nepali feudal lords".

Red'ko denies that the Ranas brought stable government. "On the contrary. . . the battle for power. . . flamed up with new force" within the Rana clan.

Of the Nepali Congress Party, which became active after the Second World War, Red'ko writes that it represented the interests of the aristocracy and bourgeois intelligentsia and contained many class "C" Ranas and Rana exiles. These factors conditioned its policy which was to come to a compromise with the Ranas. On the other hand the volunteers who fought the State forces under Congress leadership were genuine patriots who thought that Congress policy was anti-feudal and anti-imperialist. When the Communist Party of Nepal (CPN), which was founded in 1949, called for a united front against feudalism and imperialism and the left wing of Congress threatened to join them the right wing hastily called for a cease-fire, thereby saving the Ranas from complete destruction and betraying their followers.

Red'ko gives a detailed account of Nepali politics between 1951 and 1957, drawn mainly from the Indian press. He avoids attaching too much importance to the CPN. It is said to represent the "progressive intelligentsia and the workers" but is mentioned very seldom.

In his summing up, however, Red'ko emphasizes that Nepal's revolution is still unfinished. The King's power is still great and democratic reforms are slow in coming. The State apparatus remains as it was under the Ranas.

The continued recruitment by Britain of Gurkhas is mentioned with indignation. No mention is made of the existence of Gurkha regiments in the Indian Army since the transfer of power. Red'ko asserts that the Americans, who would like to use Nepal as a base of operations against China, have sent spies into the country in the guise of missionaries, tourists, specialists, mountaineers, etc. These "spies" besides photographing the Nepal-China border also stir up feeling against India.

There have been three reviews of Red'ko's book: A. Malov's "A Book about Nepal's Rebirth" in ZVEZDA VOSTOKA, 1958, No.10; Yu. Gankovskiy's "A New Book on the History of Nepal" in SOVREMENNY VOSTOK, 1958, No.10; and L.R. Polonskaya's review in PROBLEMY VOSTOKOVEDENIYA, 1959, No.2. Of these only the last deserves attention. The others merely summarize the book and express more or less complete agreement with Red'ko on all points. Polonskaya criticizes Red'ko on a number of points. The most important are that he should have explained why the national liberation movement in

Nepal took place after those in the Indian States, made clear the influence on all Nepali political parties (except the CPN) of the Indian Congress Party, and finally given a fuller account of the peasants, proletariat and workers and of their role in the fight for freedom.

An article by B. Kudryavtsev in INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, 1958, No. 6, entitled "Nepal Today" covers the same ground as Red'ko. Like Red'ko he assigns the economic backwardness of the country to British dominion and also agrees that Britain's only interest in the country was as a source of cannon-fodder. Unlike Red'ko he mentions United States aid to Nepal and its extent, and alleges that it has led to "increased American influence in the country's economic and political life".

V. Senin in SOVREM. VOS., 1958, No.7, "A Country in the Himalayas", seems to regard the Ranas rather as "pro-British feudal lords" than as British puppets. He calls the settlement of 18 February 1951 a "victory of the progressive forces".

Nepal's ethnography has been dealt with by N.R. Guseva in "The Population of Nepal", SOVETSKAYA ETNOGRAFIYA, 1958, No.5. The author gives details of the dress, housing, religion, occupation, customs, economic status, etc., of the Newars, Gurkhas, Bhotis, Sherpas and Tharus. The sources are Russian and English books, and books published in English in India and Nepal, none more recent than 1953.

The historical sketch adds nothing to Red'ko. Recruitment of Gurkhas is mentioned and it is stated that when after the Second World War "the colonizers tried to use them to crush the liberation struggle of the peoples of South East Asia. . . progressive organizations [in India and Nepal] to a considerable extent achieved satisfaction of their demand [that Gurkhas should not be recruited for such purposes]."

T I B E T

The Soviet view on events in Tibet, as one might expect, corresponds faithfully to that of China. An analysis of Soviet treatment of events up to 1954 is given in *CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW*, Vol.VI, No.1, pp. 59-75; this covered Soviet writing up to 1957 and the following survey brings it up to date. Soviet writers believe, or profess to believe, that during their period of domination in Asia the British had colonial ambitions in Turkestan and needed Tibet as a springboard from which to stage aggression. This line is followed by, among others, B.P. Gurevich in his book *OSVOBOZHDENIYE TIBETA*, Moscow, 1958. He says that the Peking Conference of 1886, the Younghusband Expedition of 1903-4, the Calcutta Trade Agreement of 1908, the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907 and the Simla Convention of 1913-14 were all stages in this policy of aggression. Gurevich notes that "although in all these treaties and agreements. . . England formally acknowledged China's suzerainty over Tibet in fact the British colonists carried out a different policy".

The Tibetan people, already oppressed by their own feudal lords and clergy, found themselves doubly oppressed after the establishment of British influence and therefore opposed the British as a matter of course. On the other hand those members of the upper classes who opposed the British did so only because they wished to be left to exploit the Tibetan people undisturbed. In addition to being anti-British the Tibetan people were pro-Chinese. They shared Chinese culture and traditions, and Tibet had always been part of China.

After the Second World War British colonial ambitions in Tibet were inherited by the USA, whose intention was to use the country as a base from which to crush Chinese Communism and turn China into a colony. Forced by the necessity to defend themselves against growing Anglo-American provocation the Chinese invaded Tibet in 1950.

A point requiring elucidation is Gurevich's reference to British provocation in Tibet after the transfer of power in India. He has in mind the fact that after 15 August 1947 the British Mission in Lhasa suffered a change of name to the Indian Mission but no change of personnel. He implies that this mission carried out espionage and provocatory activity after the transfer of power but without the knowledge of its new master, the Government of India. The fact that the Government of India inherited British interests in Tibet and

regarded the British treaties as valid and applying to India is attributed by Gurevich to "the influence of exterior imperial forces who still held in their hands some important levers of the political and economic life of the new Dominion". This argument, however, could hardly be applied to explain Indian acceptance of the McMahon Line in the present dispute.

Ye. Leonova, reviewing Gurevich's book in an article entitled "The Establishment of the People's Power in Tibet", SOVREMENNY VOSTOK, 1958, No.6, criticizes him for giving no details of "the historical, traditional connexions of Tibet and China, their unity of culture, political interests, way of life and customs." She herself, however, gives no more details than Gurevich.

The Tibetan Uprising of 1959

A short survey of Soviet press reports of this event appeared in CAR, Vol.VII, No.2, pp.202-3. A PRAVDA article of 30 March was reprinted in NEW TIMES, 1959, No.14. As this article was summarized in the survey mentioned above it will not be dealt with here.

As might be expected the periodical press does not differ from the daily press in its treatment of the uprising. K. Krutov, "Imperialist Adventure", INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, 1959, No.5, and B.P. Gurevich, "The Collapse of the Imperialist Plot in Tibet", SOVREM. VOS., 1959, No.5, both attribute the rising to the machinations of imperialist agents, both of the USA and Kuomintang, with the help of the feudal nobility and Buddhist clergy and assert that the Chinese armed forces enjoyed the help and support of the Tibetan people. Gurevich gives some details of Chinese aid to Tibet between 1951 and 1959 without which, he asserts, the Tibetan people were in danger of dying out. Tibet is again affirmed to be a part of China, and foreign protests are "interference" in China's internal affairs.

In a later article in MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA I MEZHDUNARODNYE OTNOSHENiya, 1959, No.6, "The Provocateurs have Miscalculated", Gurevich attacks Western attempts to raise the Tibetan question in UNO and their hopes that India might raise it. To counter this possibility he makes use of quotations from the Indian press, especially of one from JUGANTAR which draws an awkward parallel between Chinese action in Tibet and Indian treatment of the Nagas. The ultimate aim of American diplomacy, he asserts, is to draw India into SEATO.

Geography

TIBET by B.V. Yusov, Moscow, 1958. This book, a physical geography of Tibet, contains sections on relief, climate, hydrography, flora and soil, fauna and the physical geography of the various regions of the country. The bibliography, which contains 124 titles and covers both Russian and Western works, contains also 13 works of Chinese geographers.

Linguistics

A long article on this subject by Yu.N. Rerikh "Basic Problems of Tibetan Linguistics" appeared in SOVETSKOYE VOSTOKOVEDENIYE, 1958, No.4. The article is purely factual. In it Rerikh names the various dialects of Tibet, gives the areas in which they are spoken and lists some peculiarities. Among other themes dealt with are the question of Tibetan pronunciation in the seventh and eighth centuries (which he studies on the basis of Tibetan transliteration of Sanskrit words) and the problem of the creation of a new literary language which should be as near as possible to the spoken language and be able to deal with modern themes.

T H E B O R D E R L A N D S I N T H E S O V I E T P R E S S

Below are reviewed reports on the Borderlands countries appearing in Soviet newspapers received during the period 1 September - 31 December 1959.

Indian-Chinese relations

In the Soviet press the Indian-Chinese border incidents and the dispute between India and China were treated in the most carefully objective manner. Both the Chinese and the Indian accounts of the incidents were given, and the official statements and communications of both sides were reported. No Soviet press comment as such was published, but a Tass statement of 9 September which appeared in newspapers complained that Western political circles and newspapers had launched a "noisy campaign" trying to exploit the dispute and drive a wedge between China and India and to prevent the lessening of international tension. The statement expressed regret at the frontier incident, involving two countries with which the USSR enjoyed the most friendly relations, and expressed confidence that China and India would settle the misunderstanding in the spirit of the traditional friendship between their two peoples.

PRAVDA (24.11.59) noted that Nehru had denied any possibility of a change in India's foreign policy as a result of the Indian-Chinese dispute. Later (10.12.59) PRAVDA noted that Nehru had reaffirmed India's devotion to the "five principles" of peaceful coexistence and her resolve not to join any military blocs.

Indian-Soviet relations

The foremost Indian topic in Soviet newspapers throughout this period was the progress of work on the Bhilai steel works being built with Soviet aid under an agreement concluded on 2 February 1955. In the second half of December, in particular, newspapers published lengthy articles and full-page features on the progress achieved and on its significance for India's economy and for Soviet-Indian friendship. On 30 December newspapers published a message of congratulations sent to Nehru by Khrushchev on the completion of Bhilai's second Marten

furnace, blooming mill and continuous rolling mill and the consequent start of rolled steel production.

Soviet participation in the World Agricultural Fair, which opened in Delhi on 11 December, was another subject that received considerable notice in the Soviet press. The exhibits in the Soviet pavilion were described at length, and their lessons for Indian and eastern agriculture in general were emphasized. The President of the Soviet Chamber of Commerce, M.V. Nesterov, was quoted as saying: "The participation in the Fair of countries with different social and economic systems will visibly demonstrate which road of agricultural development the socialist or the capitalist, is the more successful and offers the brightest prospects."

The Indian Communist Party

The only aspects of Indian Communist Party activity reported in the Soviet press during this period were those relating to foreign affairs. Soviet newspapers reported (22.9.59) the Indian Communist Party statement on the tenth anniversary of the Chinese People's Republic, calling for closer Indian-Chinese friendship in the face of attempts by reactionaries to exploit the Indian-Chinese frontier incidents; the Party's declaration on the October Revolution anniversary praising the domestic and foreign policies of the Soviet Union (PRAVDA 9.11.59); and the resolution of the Party conference held in Meerut expressing support for attempts to reduce international tension, including the Indian Government's own efforts in this direction (PRAVDA 15.11.59).

Pakistan's defence preoccupations

Occasional articles on Pakistan published in the Soviet press during this period depicted the Pakistani Government and press, and President Ayub Khan himself, as last-ditch opponents of any relaxation of international tension. IZVESTIYA (1.12.59) said that President Ayub Khan had been trying to frighten the West by recent statements of his about alleged Russian and Chinese plans to advance to the Indian Ocean; and a Pakistani newspaper had published an article demanding more arms for Pakistan and her CENTO allies. TRUD (4.10.59) denounced as fabrications Pakistani newspaper allegations that Soviet and Chinese aircraft had been flying over Pakistani territory, operating from airfields in Afghanistan, and that Russians held key posts in all departments of the Afghan Government. PRAVDA (5.10.59) said that Pakistani newspapers had published a sensational story about the Soviet Union and Afghanistan having concerted "a secret plan for drawing the Muslim countries into the Communist bloc". All these

"provocative" stories, the Soviet newspapers maintained, were being used by Pakistan to maintain the cold war atmosphere and to justify the "aggressive" posture of the CENTO and SEATO alliances.

Soviet accounts of Persian policy

The Soviet radio attacks on the Persian Government found only a slight reflection in the Soviet press. Earlier in the year the Shah's rule was described as a "reign of terror" (PRAVDA 3.7.59); but by September the tone of Soviet articles had become more moderate, and A. Ermolayev's long article "A Bankrupt Policy" in IZVESTIYA of 2 September, deplored the economic effects of Persia's defence commitments and the alleged deterioration of living standards, set an example which was followed in subsequent months, particularly in the Central Asian press. The only solution for Persia, it was maintained, was a return to the policy of neutrality and "non-participation in aggressive blocs".

Soviet-Afghan relations

The most publicized event in Soviet-Afghan relations during this period was the visit of an Afghan parliamentary delegation to the USSR at the invitation of the Supreme Soviet. (For details see pp.57-58.)

KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA of 21 November published an account of a visit to Afghanistan by a large group of Soviet tourists led by Z.Sh. Radzhabov, corresponding member of the Tadzhik Academy of Sciences. According to Radzhabov they were the first Soviet tourists to visit Afghanistan.

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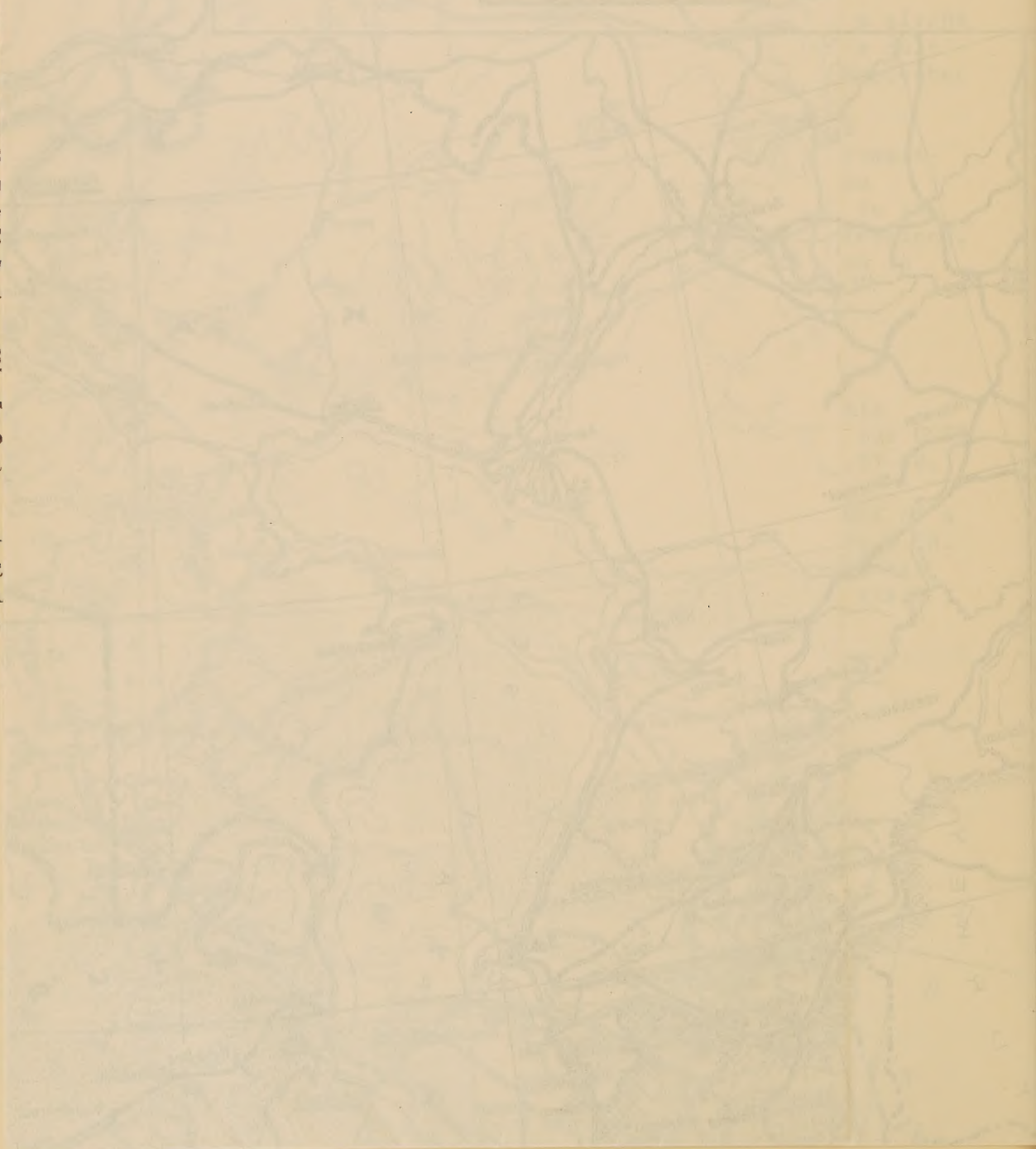
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THE SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS
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KAZAKHSTAN, KIRGHIZIA, TADZHIKISTAN,
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This bibliography is limited to certain specific periodicals, about 50 in number, and to new books. Highly technical source material is not included.

MAP OF SOVIET CENTRAL ASIA & KAZAKHSTAN: In the form of four folded Sheets in booklet cover with Introduction, Gazetteer and Glossary. Price complete: Forty-two Shillings post free.

The Map is based on a Russian map on scale 1: 5M in the ATLAS MIRA of 1954. It has been brought up to date (1958) as far as possible. Scale: 1: 3,750,000. It is printed in six colours; heights, depths and contour values are given in metres.

THE MIZAN NEWSLETTER: A monthly review of Soviet writing on the Middle East (first issue January 1959), comprising articles on Soviet opinion about Middle East affairs, relations between the USSR and Middle East countries, and Soviet newspapers' presentation of Middle East developments. Subscription rate: Six Pounds per year, post free; single copies: Ten Shillings.

In preparation

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE TURKMEN LANGUAGE by G.K. Dulling. (Early 1960)

Turkmen, while related to modern Turkish and Azeri in the south-western group of Turkic languages, differs from them in several important points of phonetics, morphology and syntax. This book describes these differences and also contains some notes on the unwritten Turkmen dialects spoken outside the Soviet Republic of Turkmenistan in Persia and Afghanistan.

APR 1961



The above map shows the area covered by *Central Asian Review* in relation to the rest of the world. The total area of the six Muslim republics is $1\frac{1}{2}$ million square miles, that is, about 23.5 per cent of the total area of Soviet Asia.

The total population of the Muslim Republics is 26,676,000 (1959 Census) or about 41.7 per cent of the total population of Soviet Asia now estimated at about 64 million. The figure of 26,676,000 includes 16 million Muslims, 7,923,000 Russian, Ukrainian and Belo-russian settlers and a number of smaller non-Muslim communities such as Armenians, Koreans, Dungans and Jews amounting to a total of 832,000.

The total indigenous population of Soviet Asia is estimated at 25 million. Thus, whilst the six republics together occupy only one-fifth of the total area of the region, their indigenous (i.e. Asian) population amounts to about 66.5 per cent of the indigenous population of the whole of Soviet Asia.